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**THE CHANGING FACE OF MISERY:
LOS ANGELES' SKID ROW AREA IN TRANSITION**

**A HOUSING AND SOCIAL SERVICES
NEEDS ASSESSMENT OF CENTRAL CITY EAST**

Prepared for

The Community Redevelopment Agency
of the
City of Los Angeles

July 1987

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THE CHANGING FACE OF MISERY: LOS ANGELES' SKID ROW AREA IN TRANSITION

SUMMARY OF THE HOUSING AND SOCIAL SERVICES NEEDS ASSESSMENT OF CENTRAL CITY EAST

Background

The Community Redevelopment Agency (Agency) contracted with the firm of Hamilton, Rabinovitz and Alschuler, Inc., to conduct the Housing and Social Services Needs Assessment of Central City East. The needs assessment is one of several studies the Agency has commissioned for Central City East (CCE). CCE is a 50-block area in the Central Business District (CBD) containing a diverse range of land uses including the fish and food industry, a burgeoning toy and import/export industry, and other local light and heavy industrial businesses. Scattered throughout the CCE area are Skid Row related uses, including 32 social service agencies and 68 single room occupancy (SRO) hotels.

In addition to the needs assessment, the Agency has commissioned a study of the downtown fish and related food industries, and an economic base study to provide information about retention and growth of other major economic activities. These studies are designed to provide the Agency with information that will enable it to develop programs to facilitate the coexistence of residents and industrial businesses in the CCE area.

The purpose of the Housing and Social Services Needs Assessment is:

- (1) To develop a comprehensive inventory of existing social service providers and housing resources serving the Skid Row community;
- (2) To identify current and projected trends in the demographic profile of the Skid Row community; and
- (3) To determine the effectiveness of the existing social service and housing delivery system to respond to community needs (and a changing demographic population) and identify gaps in housing and social services.

As the outlined purpose of the report indicates, the needs assessment is not a study on "homelessness" per se. However, to make decisions about priorities in providing funds to fulfill social service and housing needs, and where and how social services and housing should optimally be located, policy makers must be knowledgeable about all aspects of the community, including the "homeless" population. Of particular concern is the size and character of that population.

A Demographic Field Survey was undertaken (as an amendment to the original contract) to help resolve discrepancies uncovered in previous work on the demography of Skid Row, including reports from the U.S. Census Bureau and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, as well as estimates from knowledgeable social service providers in the area about the number of people who regularly sleep on the street or other unconventional indoor or outdoor locations in Skid Row.

In addition to providing a profile of the demographic population, the study also examines the social service resources in the area, the housing and shelter stock and the impact of the City's seismic safety ordinance on the existing residential hotels. Ultimately, the study will analyze

gaps in housing and services, and provide policy recommendations to address the assessed needs. Following is a summary of the study components:

o **VOLUME I: Size and Demography of the Skid Row Population**

Analysis of Census data, a Demographic Field Survey and interviews with social service and shelter providers all indicate that the population in Skid Row is growing and that its profile is changing. An overview of the Skid Row population is as follows:

As of mid-1986, it is estimated that there are between 11,000 to 12,000 people living in or within one block of the CCE area. This includes approximately 10,000 persons who are housed in SROs, missions and nonsecular shelters (based on 5,100 SRO units within CCE, 1,683 SRO units within one block of CCE at 95% occupancy and 1.25 occupancy per unit, totaling 8,055 persons; and approximately 2,100 beds in missions and nonsecular shelters). The Demographic Field Survey revealed that on one night during the month of October, 1986, there were approximately 1,000 persons who were without shelter (such as SROs, missions and secular shelters).

Prior to 1980, the bulk of the population consisted of elderly white males. The characteristics of today's population (while continuing to include elderly white males) are much more diverse:

- (1) The average age of the population has dropped from 40-60 to 20-40.
- (2) In 1980, minorities made up 72% of the population (compared to 31% in 1969); Hispanics comprised 36%, whites 34%, blacks 28%, and Japanese 8%.*
- (3) Women and some families with children are also represented in the population.

While the population is younger and more able-bodied than previous generations, they have less work experience and resulting skills. Employment possibilities for today's population are extremely limited. Therefore, training is needed in employability skills as well as technical and vocational skills. There are half the number of labor offices in CCE today than there were in 1969.

The annual crime rate in CCE is much higher than for the City as a whole. According to 1985 LAPD statistics (reported crimes only), there are 500 crimes per 1,000 persons in CCE. The citywide average is 95 crimes per 1,000 persons. Thus, there were five times as many reported crimes in CCE than there were reported crimes citywide. Additionally, it is estimated that half the crimes in CCE are unreported.

* Percentages sum to more than 100% because "Hispanic" is not mutually exclusive with other identifications in the U.S. Census of Population.

o **VOLUME II: Social Services**

A number of public agencies and programs provide direct funds or cost subsidies to individuals who reside in and/or use services provided in CCE. Estimates of this monetized spending are as follows:

- (1) \$13 million annually in county programs (primarily General Relief benefits);
- (2) \$25 million annually through a combination of Federal/State/County programs (primarily Medicare and Medical); and
- (3) \$15 million annually by social service providers (primarily non-profit agencies).

Based on the population estimates of the area, these benefits total \$5,000 per person annually. In addition, veterans' pensions are known to contribute to monetized benefits in the area but cannot be estimated on the basis of available records. Further, a large number of non-monetized benefits -- e.g. food stamps, donated clothing, volunteer time -- are present but cannot be financially quantified from available data.

To date, the Agency has spent \$6.3 million to fund administrative and operating expenses for such social services as Las Familias del Pueblo (rehousing of families), the CBD Homeless Shelter Trust Fund, the Skid Row Development Corporation, the Single Room Occupancy Housing Corporation and a private police patrol. The bulk of the Agency's expenditures in Skid Row (\$38.1 million since 1980) have been for capital expenses/physical facilities.

Since 1980, 18 new agencies have been introduced into the area, many in response to the increasing diversity in the population. CCE area agencies provide about 30 different types of services. The most common service is the provision of food. "Socialization" (defined as learning social norms or re-acculturation) is the second most commonly provided service followed by referral, religious education, clothing, mental health, emergency shelter and education.

Currently, the primary area of social service need is mental health care. There has been no expansion of mental health facilities since 1981 and there is no social service agency providing mental health care that is open on a 24 hour basis. In addition to mental health care, social service providers identified gaps in services for physical health care (including first aid), drug addiction, and employment and vocational training. A 1986 study by the County Mental Health Department estimated that 28% of Skid Row residents are severely or chronically mentally ill; 34% are chronic substance abusers without mental illnesses; and 12% of the population suffers from both chronic substance abuse and mental illness.

o **VOLUME III: Shelter Resources**

The housing stock and shelter resources in Skid Row are of three types: residential hotels and apartment buildings (SROs), secular shelters and missions.

SROs: As their name implies, the SROs consist primarily of single rooms with common sanitary facilities. There are 5,100 such dwelling units in 69 buildings of varying size in the CCE boundary area (11 hotels with 1,683 units are located within one block of

CCE), making them the most numerically significant component of the shelter stock. More than any other physical or social aspect of the area, it is the SRO hotels, and the tenants to whom they cater, which most define the character of the Skid Row area.

The growth in the Skid Row population is occurring without any additional new permanent housing construction (except for Ballington Plaza's 270 units). In fact, since 1969, there has been a 26% decline in the number of units in the area and a 31% decline in the number of residential buildings. Of the existing hotels, the average monthly rent is \$200.** SRO Housing Corporation is the only publicly-assisted entity purchasing and rehabilitating SROs.

While rental rates in Skid Row SROs are lower per dwelling unit than at almost any other location in the City, rents have been escalating in recent years. Median monthly rent has doubled since 1980 and the average vacancy rate has decreased to about 5%. Shortages of affordable rental housing in other areas of the City and demolitions and conversions of the Skid Row area housing stock combined with increases in the population in Skid Row are likely explanations for the rapid escalations in rents and the decrease in vacancy rates in recent years. Despite the relatively low rents, SRO tenants are paying an unusually large percentage of their income for shelter (as much as 50% of income for rent in some instances).

Missions: There are six missions, facilities that are part of a historic institutional legacy attached to the Skid Row area from its beginning in the late nineteenth century. These facilities currently provide about 1,000 beds for men only, and some provide a range of other support services. The six missions include Fred Jordan Mission, Emmanuel Baptist Mission, Los Angeles Mission, Midnight Mission, Salvation Army Harbor Light and Union Rescue Mission. Except for the Midnight Mission, all require participation in religious services.

Secular Shelters: Skid Row contains four secular shelters, all of which have been developed since 1980 by private non-profit corporations using city, state and federal funds. They offer shelter and a range of services to both men and women, and as their collective referent implies, they differ from the missions in that they require no religious participation in order to obtain services. Approximately 1,100 beds are currently available in the five secular shelters which include: San Pedro Temporary Emergency Shelter, Transition House, Volunteers of America Women's and Couple's Shelter and the Weingart Center.

On February 13, 1981, the Los Angeles City Council adopted the Earthquake Hazard Reduction Ordinance (seismic safety ordinance) which requires that all pre-1934 unreinforced masonry buildings be structurally rehabilitated to achieve a specific level of structural safety according to a specified time schedule. An ordinance amendment in 1985, passed after the Mexico City earthquake, accelerated the original compliance schedule.

When the Agency provides financial assistance, the average cost per unit is \$10,000 for full seismic rehabilitation and other code compliance work (Agency financial assistance requires completion of all health, safety and building code violations in addition to seismic repairs). Alternatively, when full seismic ordinance compliance rehabilitations are financed privately, the average cost per unit is \$3,800 per unit.

Fourteen hotels in CCE have or are forecasted to receive financial assistance for seismic work through the Agency. Eight hotels are proceeding with compliance without apparent

** The standard monthly General Relief grant for a single person is \$247 with the portion associated with housing totaling \$150 a month.

public assistance. However, for the remaining 37 hotels which require seismic work (1,944 units), there is no known source of public financial assistance.

If the average Agency cost figure of \$10,000 per unit is assumed, it would require approximately \$19.4 million (in 1986 dollars) to rehabilitate the remaining Skid Row area SRO units, or about \$33.6 million to both acquire and rehabilitate these buildings, as has been done with recent SRO Housing Corporation projects. Alternatively, if only seismic ordinance compliance rehabilitations were financed, the total required construction cost funding would be about \$7.4 million (\$3,800 per unit).

Existing cash flow circumstances and problems that these buildings pose for conventional loan underwriting means that, so long as existing economic conditions prevail, private financing will probably be unavailable for seismic rehabilitation. Therefore, some owners may choose to close or demolish their SROs unless either a source of loan funds emerges, or there is some change in the seismic ordinance compliance schedule. The number of homeless persons in CCE could increase substantially if existing housing units are lost.

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VOLUME I
THE SIZE AND DEMOGRAPHY OF THE SKID ROW POPULATION

PREFACE

This Report presents the findings of an inventory of the population/demography, social service and shelter resources in the Central City East (CCE) portion of the Los Angeles Central Business District Redevelopment Area, which is more commonly known as Skid Row. The boundaries of this area are shown in Figure I-1. The more familiar term, Skid Row, will largely be used to refer to the area.

The study was performed by Hamilton, Rabinovitz and Alschuler, Inc. (HR&A) in association with George Rand of the UCLA Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning, and Juarez Associates, Inc. Peter Morrison and Anthony Pascal of the Rand Corporation, and Howard Freeman of the UCLA Institute for Social Science Research, assisted with the population and demographic research. Members of the staff of the Community Redevelopment Agency of the City of Los Angeles (CRA), including Carol Goldstein and Nancy Sturgeon, provided the benefit of their knowledge of both the area and of CRA policy and resources.

Skid Row is known in Los Angeles as the area of primary concentration of the City's homeless. Given the publicity which surrounds public policy regarding the homeless today, it should be emphasized at the outset that this Report is a study of an area of Los Angeles which contains many homeless persons, but it is not a study of homelessness per se. Specifically, it should be noted that:

- o The people who live in the Skid Row area are by no means all homeless, in the sense that they have no room, apartment or bed to sleep in regularly.
- o Nor are all of the people who live in the Skid Row area homeless in the sense that they move from Skid Row to other areas for short periods of time and then move back again. Many of the people who live in Skid Row are, from both these points of view, genuine residents, though a great many of them do not have "homes" in the sense that most Americans understand that complex term.
- o And, not all of the people in Los Angeles who have no regular place to sleep locate themselves within the Skid Row area.

We describe in Volume I the demographic character of the Skid Row population, only some of whom are homeless in either of the senses described above. We then inventory the social service resources of the agencies within the area (Volume II), and the size and character of the housing and other shelter stock including a discussion of its seismic vulnerability (Volume III).

This Report is one of a series that the CRA has commissioned in order to prepare its Development Framework for Central City East. The Development Framework is a planning tool which outlines the specific programs that should be pursued in the area in order to accommodate the physical, economic and social needs of both residents and businesses. In addition to this study, the CRA has commissioned a study of the downtown fish and related food industries, and an economic base study to provide information about retention and growth of other major forms of economic activity. All three studies are designed to provide the CRA with information that will enable it to develop programs to facilitate the coexistence of residents and industrial businesses in the Skid Row area.

**FIGURE I-1
BOUNDARIES OF THE SKID ROW AREA**



THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY: SKID ROW AREAS IN AMERICA

Skid Row areas in American cities have generally evolved through a series of definable stages, fluctuating in size and character in response to national, social and economic events, including depressions, wars, and technological changes.¹ Beginning primarily during the period between the Civil War and 1900, most of America's developing urban areas attracted increasing numbers of single men, sometimes called "hobos",² who were often searching for employment. Downtown areas were the natural place for a person new to the city to begin looking for work. Distinctive subcommunities typically developed in the immediate vicinity of transportation terminals, railroad yards and docks near city centers. These subcommunities consisted predominantly of single males, and included a symbiotic mix of inexpensive lodgings, cheap restaurants, second-hand clothing stores, employment offices and saloons.³ They were populated by seasonal agricultural workers, construction workers, railroad workers and others who needed temporary lodging between their seasonal, transitory jobs. By the turn of the century, most major American cities had such a working man's area. New York's Bowery, Chicago's West Madison Street, Baltimore's Pratt Street, Seattle's Yesler Way,⁴ San Francisco's Tenderloin area and Minneapolis' Gateway are perhaps the most familiar examples.

By the 1920s, significant changes in the labor market, including a decline in railroad construction, mechanization of the agriculture and lumber industries, and a general decline in demand for seasonal workers tended to decrease the proportion of temporary residents in such areas, and, conversely, to increase the proportion of more permanent residents. This, in turn, resulted in a decrease in the number and quality of lodging houses which, together with restrictions imposed by Prohibition, also reduced the number and quality of restaurants, saloons and other associated community businesses.

The Great Depression exacerbated these declines and also resulted in a large increase in the numbers of people drawn into what then came to be known as "skid row" communities. No longer were they so much the territory of the entry level working man. Now, they became the last recourse of the down and out -- most of whom were not regularly employed. The Federal Emergency Relief Act and the Federal Transient Program provided funds to construct shelters, in addition to the few municipal and charitable shelters which had first emerged in the 1890s.

The upswing in employment associated with World War II once again reduced the numbers of people living in skid row areas, but those who remained tended to be older and less mobile. The Housing Act of 1949 provided the impetus for many cities to redevelop skid row areas by providing Federal funds to develop relocation and redevelopment alternatives for areas which were defined as "blighted." In response to newspaper series and resulting public agency enforcement campaigns, skid row areas in many cities also

¹Wallace, S. E., Skid Row as a Way of Life, New Jersey, Badminster Press, 1965.

²The term "hobo" may be derived from Homeward Bound, the answer given by soldiers after the Civil War when asked about their travel destination. Bruns, R., Knights of the Road: A Hobo History, New York, Metharen, 1980.

³Bogue, Donald, Skid Row in American Cities, Chicago, University of Chicago press, 1963.

⁴Seattle gave these areas their common name. It did not originate because the inhabitants were on the skids. It came from Skid Road, the name for Yesler Way, a Seattle street down which logs were skidded into Elliot Bay. It drew barkeeps and prostitutes along with lumber jacks, mill workers, and sailors. Today, it is Pioneer Square.

became targets for urban renewal and interstate highway construction. During the 1950s and 1960s, these redevelopment efforts eliminated all or most of the skid row areas that had existed in many big cities, including those in Kansas City, Sacramento, Denver, Minneapolis, Philadelphia and Detroit. Based on these experiences, some students of the skid row culture predicted that such areas would ultimately disappear entirely.⁵ This, of course, did not happen in Los Angeles or in most other urban centers.

HISTORY OF THE LOS ANGELES SKID ROW AREA

The Los Angeles Skid Row area evolved, in its early years, through a similar cycle of events. The present land use pattern and character of the area responded to construction of the Arcade Railroad Depot between Fourth, Sixth, Central and Alameda streets in the mid-1880s, as well as to subdivision of the former Wolfskill Orchard into 25-foot lots, and construction of rooming houses, tenements and associated commercial businesses along Fifth Street between the Depot and the emerging business centers on Main and Spring Streets. The Pacific Electric Terminal Building, constructed one block west of what is now the Greyhound Bus Depot, generated similar development along Main and Los Angeles Streets. Table I-1 lists the existing residential hotels and apartments in Skid Row which date from this early period. These structures still constitute about three quarters of the existing housing stock in the area.

By the late 1920s, Central City East was home largely to migratory agricultural workers. During the Depression, relief was dispensed from the Municipal Service Bureau at Fifth and Main. Between the Depression and the end of World War II, the Skid Row population declined, as work became available in defense related industries and men were drafted into the Armed Services.⁶

The area's population apparently began growing again after the War. The presence of the USO at 5th and Spring, the allure of Main Street night life, and the convenience of the Cecil and Hayward Hotels attracted many servicemen, especially sailors from the port in San Diego. Mexican nationals were drawn to the area by the presence of the Mexican Consulate at 4th and Spring. In June, 1955, the L.A. Mirror and Daily News ran a series of 10 articles which focused attention on the deteriorating physical conditions in the area. A City Building Code enforcement campaign followed, resulting in the demolition of about 5,500 hotel rooms and apartments.⁷ In 1967, the Greyhound Corporation located its bus depot in the area, creating an even stronger all-night magnet for the transient population.

⁵For example Ronald C. Vander Kooi, "Central City East and Its Fifth Street Skid Row: A Study of Community Social Structure and Feasible Redevelopment," Community Redevelopment Agency, Los Angeles, January, 1969. Lee, Barrett, "The Disappearance of Skid Row: Some Ecological Evidence", Urban Affairs Quarterly, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1980, pp. 81-107; Bahr, H., Skid Row: An Introduction to Disaffiliation, New York, Oxford University Press, 1973.

⁶"Defense plants swept the streets of all but decrepit men; only a small minority still roamed about, too enfeebled by old age or chronic infirmity to do anything." Henry, Helga Bender, Mission on Main Street, Los Angeles, Union Rescue Mission, 1955, p. 143.

⁷White, Magner "Los Angeles 'Skid Row' 65 Percent Cleaned Up", L.A. Examiner, October 12, 1959.

TABLE I-1
EXISTING SKID ROW AREA RESIDENTIAL HOTELS
AND APARTMENT BUILDINGS CONSTRUCTED PRIOR TO 1920^a

<u>Building Name</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Const. Date</u>
Amarillo [Graham Hotel]	128 E. 4th Street	1906
Astor Hotel	618 E. 4th Street	1915
Bixby Hotel	433 S. Wall Street	1911
Blaine Hotel	276 1/2 E. 5th Street	1905
Brownstone Hotel	427 E. 5th Street	1902
Carlton Hotel	534 E. Wall Street	1908*
Carver Hotel	460 E. 4th Street	1908*
Continental Hotel	802 E. 7th Street	1912*
Delo Apartments	553 Stanford Street	1907
Doane Hotel	211 1/2 E. 5th Street	1905
Earl Roy Hotel	233 E. 5th Street	1906
Ellie Hotel	802 E. 6th Street	1915
Florence Hotel	310 E. 5th Street	1913
Golden West Hotel	417 E. 5th Street	1913
Harold Hotel	323 E. 5th Street	1906
Haskell Hotel	528 S. Wall Street	1912
Huntington Hotel	752 S. Main Street	1910
Indiana Hotel	315 E. 4th Street	1905
King Edward Hotel	121 E. 5th Street	1904
Leo Hotel	531 S. San Julian	1910
Leonide Hotel	510 1/2 S. Main Street	1911
Lorane Hotel	241 E. 5th Street	1903
LA Motel 6 (St. George)	115 E. 3rd Street	1905
Lyndon Hotel	413 E. 7th Street	1910
New Terminal	907 E. 7th Street	1912*
Olympia Hotel	1203 E. 7th Street	1912*
Palmer Hotel	538 S. Wall Street	1909*
Panama Hotel	403 E. 5th Street	1911
Pennsylvania Hotel	456 1/2 S. Main Street	1904
Pershing Hotel	502 S. Main Street	1911
Prentice Hotel	1012 E. 7th Street	1913*
Regal Hotel	815 E. 6th Street	1917*
Rosslyn Hotel	112 W. 5th Street	1914
Russ Hotel	521 S. San Julian	1906
Senator Hotel	726 S. Spring Street	1914*
Simon Apartments	702 1/2 E. 6th Street	1908*
Southern Hotel	412 E. 5th Street	1910
Stanford Hotel	660 Stanford Street	1912
Traveler's Hotel	553 Ceres Avenue	1914*
Ward Hotel	512 Wall Street	1913*
Webb Hotel	642 Crocker Street	1913
Weldon Hotel	507 Maple Avenue	1907

^aThese data are based on a review of City building permits. However, the City's permit files do not list buildings constructed before 1905. Dates noted with an asterisk (*) indicate the earliest remodeling permit date, so that construction actually occurred prior to the date listed.

In the 1960s -- as happened in the 1950s in many eastern and older midwestern cities -- Los Angeles began to consider redeveloping its Skid Row area. A comprehensive Urban Renewal Feasibility Study was conducted for the CRA in 1968-69 by a team of architects, economists and sociologists, who examined the costs and implications of using urban renewal funds and procedures to redevelop the area. It concluded that renewing the area would be complex and expensive and would lead to dispersal of the area's existing population. This was followed in the early 1970s by the drafting of a Central City Association plan for the Central Business District, which proposed a rehabilitation effort in Skid Row. This plan envisioned replacing existing Skid Row development with an urban university campus and middle income housing. The Central Business District Redevelopment Plan adopted by the City Council in July, 1975 incorporated much of the business community's proposed plan for the area. Skid Row was divided into a light industrial land use sector east of San Pedro Street, and a western portion reserved for "alternative uses." These included a new regional university communications complex, a new metropolitan police facility and a new middle income residential community. Of these, only the Central Division Police Building was, in fact, built in the 1970's, replacing five hotels that contained 378 units. The other facilities have not become reality via inclusion in the CRA's Annual Work Programs.

In the years since the adoption of the Central Business District Redevelopment Plan, the area has been a focal point of CRA activity. Every CRA Annual Work Program in the past ten years has included funds and programs aimed at improving the existing shelter stock or adding new resources to this area. Table I-2 lists the CRA projects which have been funded in Central City East from 1976 to the present.

Today, many of the physical and social characteristics of the Skid Row area are in the process of change once again. Within the past few years, a national spotlight has been focused on the increasing numbers of homeless persons (i.e. persons who do not have a regular room, apartment or bed to sleep in) in American cities.⁸ The Skid Row area is not the only location, but it is probably the most common locale for homeless persons to congregate in Los Angeles County. The demographic characteristics of the people in the Skid Row area in the 1980s are different from the demographic characteristics of prior residents of the area. (This change is described in detail in Volume I.) This change in population has resulted in the establishment of a variety of new organizations and services in Skid Row by both public and private non-profit entities. (These changes are described in detail in Volume II.) Meanwhile, the housing stock in Skid Row, probably the most intensively used housing resource in the City, continues to age. Most of it was constructed in an era prior to intensive regulation of buildings for plumbing, electrical service, fire safety, and seismic safety. Owners now face new City regulations requiring expensive modernization of their buildings. (The shelter situation is discussed in Volume III.)

⁸The causes of this phenomenon are variously cited as deindustrialization, unemployment associated with the 1981 recession, rising poverty rates and welfare cutbacks, decreases in available low-income housing, deinstitutionalization of mental patients, and increases in family instability and domestic violence. See Ropers, Richard, "The Homeless of Los Angeles County," Los Angeles, Basic Shelter Research Project, Document No. 4, 1985.

TABLE I-2
CRA PROJECT EXPENDITURES IN CENTRAL CITY EAST, 1976-1986^a

<u>Completed Capital Projects</u>	<u>Costs</u>
Ballington Plaza Seniors Housing Project	\$10,700,000
Commercial/Light Industrial Center	500,000
Brownstone Hotel Rehabilitation	394,000
Lorane Hotel Rehabilitation	350,000
Move-On Apartments	650,000
Transition House	370,000
Renaissance Building	500,000
Weingart Center	740,000
Los Angeles Men's Place (LAMP)	125,000
Downtown Women's Center	340,000
La Jolla Hotel Rehabilitation	450,000
San Pedro Street Emergency Shelter	200,000
6th & Gladys Park	500,000
5th & San Julian Park	500,000
Subtotal	\$16,319,000
<u>Capital Projects in Progress</u>	
Florence Hotel Acquisition & Rehabilitation	\$1,115,000
Panama & Russ Hotels Acquisition & Rehabilitation	8,671,600
Harold Hotel Acquisition & Rehabilitation	1,410,000
Golden West Hotel Acquisition & Rehabilitation	1,359,500
Leo Hotel Acquisition & Rehabilitation	953,200
Annex Hotel Acquisition & Rehabilitation	569,500
Ellis Hotel Acquisition & Rehabilitation	1,000,000
Regal Hotel Acquisition & Rehabilitation	1,545,000
LAMP Expansion	120,000
Subtotal	\$16,743,800
<u>Administrative/Operating Cost Projects</u>	
Los Familias Del Pueblo Rehousing Project	\$110,000
CBD Homeless Shelter Trust Fund	1,800,000 ^b
Skid Row Development Corp. Administration	2,500,000
SRO Housing Corp. Administration	1,258,000
6th and San Pedro Police Patrol	150,000
Paperback Recycling	80,000
Subtotal	\$5,898,000
GRAND TOTAL	\$38,960,800

^aDoes note include funding for various special studies.

^bAnnual contribution initiated in 1986.

SOURCE: CRA Annual Work Programs 1 - 10

The renewed visibility of the area in the context of City affairs represents another important change. In addition to the history of ongoing CRA concern, and the new general level of civic and media attention to the area, some members of the Skid Row population have become more militant and capable of calling attention to their own needs. Particular attention has been drawn to the adequacy of public assistance programs, primarily General Relief and Social Security. This has meant that the area, which once existed in relative invisibility, now finds itself in a new and much more highly charged social and political situation.

The changing nature of the area is made more complex by its re-emergence as a business center. New business activity is occurring along most of Skid Row's principal commercial streets. Land values in the area are increasing by virtue of the development of the adjacent produce market, flower market, garment district and Little Tokyo areas. Many of the characteristics of the area as it has existed in the recent past are said to conflict with the needs of the growing fish and related food industries, as well as the toy and electronics import businesses now in the area.⁹

In the latter 1980s, therefore, the CRA must balance a series of new and conflicting forces in making decisions about what policy objectives to pursue for the area and what kinds of resources to provide. In order to do this, the Agency must have as much systematic information as possible about the conditions, the services and the service providers that are now present in the area. It is to the fulfillment of this vital need that this first Volume of the Report seeks to contribute.

THE SIZE AND DEMOGRAPHY OF THE SKID ROW POPULATION

To make decisions about priorities in providing funds to fulfill social service and housing needs, and where and how social services and housing should optimally be located, there are at least two key demographic questions to which policy makers need answers. The first concerns the size of the Skid Row area population. The second is the character of that population. While demography is not the primary focus of this analysis, the data commonly used to describe the Skid Row population are so fragmentary, incomplete and difficult to interpret that sensible discussion requires some prior clarification of the probable demographic situation.

As will be seen, there are very real limits on the clarification of the basic demography that is possible from existing data. Some of these limits are imposed by the nature of the population, which poses special difficulties for demographic researchers, and others by obscurities and seeming inconsistencies in data classification. This Volume summarizes what has been gleaned both from pre-existing research and from the substantial new data gathering efforts performed in the course of this project. It begins with a summary of census based counts of the Skid Row population. It then proceeds to expand this count by adding a portrait and count of people who regularly sleep outside in Skid Row. It also examines the characteristics of this population in terms of length of residence in the area,

⁹ West Coast Fisheries Development Foundation, Executive Summary -- Downtown Fish and Related Food Processing Study, CRA, November, 1985.

race and ethnicity, age, gender, nativity and language, education, household composition, labor force status, income, alcoholism, drug abuse and mental health status, and exposure to crime and violence. In each section, the portrait which results from the statistics is compared with that painted by social service and shelter providers.

POPULATION SIZE AND GROWTH

THE CENSUS PORTRAIT

Though other agencies prepare projections of population, the Bureau of the Census is the source of all basic data on the actual population of the area at a given point in time. Census data are available in three different geographic "cuts", each of which can be used to describe the area occupied by what is commonly called Skid Row. In ascending order of unit size, these cuts are the block, the census tract and the zip code.

Since the block is the smallest unit, it makes possible the most accurate capture of the population within the precise geographic dimensions of the area. In 1980, this population was recorded as 8,557, or more than double the 4,054 people who were recorded in the previous decennial census in 1970.¹⁰ The precise increase in counted population over the decade was 111%. This growth rate was, of course, much faster than that of the City or the County as a whole, both of which grew about 6% in the period.

Unfortunately, although block data paint the most accurate picture, privacy and other considerations preclude the Census Bureau from reporting breakdowns of these figures in the profusion of different forms necessary for the type of analysis that is presented in this Report. The smallest unit for which data are fully reported is the census tract. Two of these tracts, numbers 2062 and 2063, best define the area referred to by the Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) as its Central City East (CCE) project area, better known as Skid Row.¹¹ Because these tracts include a larger area than is contained in the more precise block-based definition of the area, the census tract definition also includes a few hundred more people. The Census tract boundaries are shown in Figure I-2. The combined 1980 population of these two tracts was recorded as 8,979, or 107% more than the 4,334 who were counted in them in 1970. However, the two tracts were not shown as growing at equal rates. Tract 2063, which contains the southwest portion of the area, reportedly grew in population by 145% during the 1970s, while the northeast tract grew more slowly.

The area is largely included in one zip code, but overlaps two others. (Zip code is the largest of the three units of census data.) The zip code boundaries are shown in Figure I-3. Because this unit is the least accurate definer of the area, it is used herein as sparingly as possible. However, payment of some forms of benefits (e.g. Supplemental

¹⁰ As will be made clear below, comparisons between 1970 and 1980 census data for the area probably overstate the actual growth of the population during that interval. Nevertheless, these comparisons are presented at the outset so that the reader may initially review them in unamended form.

¹¹ See below for an explanation of the census tract options that were tested in an attempt to achieve the closest possible fit.

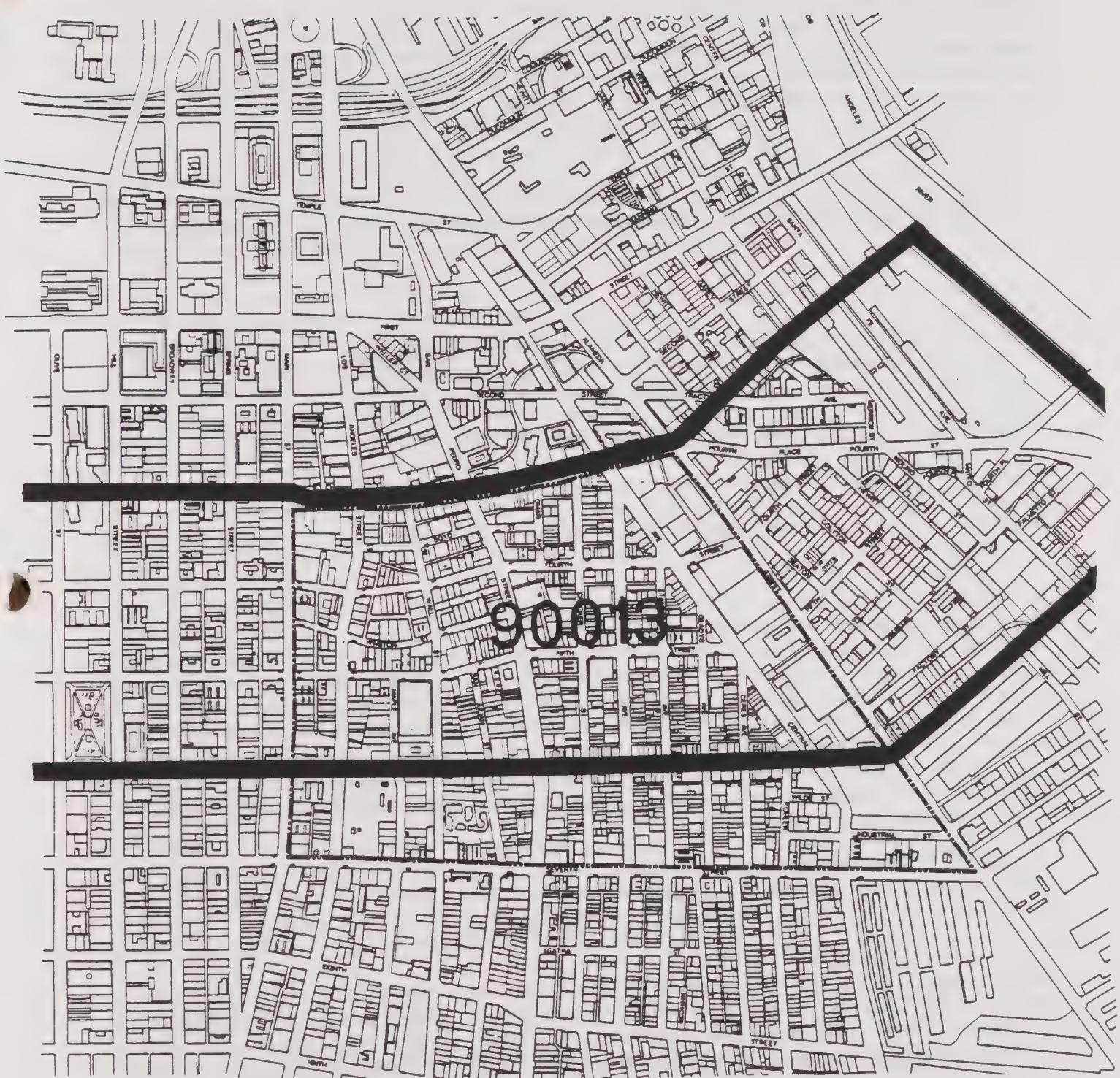
FIGURE I-2
BOUNDARIES OF CENSUS TRACTS 2062 AND 2063
COMPARED TO THE SKID ROW AREA



LEGEND:

Census Tract Boundaries

FIGURE I-3
BOUNDARY OF ZIP CODE 90013
COMPARED TO THE SKID ROW AREA



LEGEND:

Zip Code Boundaries

Security Income) are reported only according to zip code units, so that this measure is the only usable unit for some analytic purposes. In 1980 the zip code which includes most of Skid Row had a population of 10,851. The growth rate reported during the 1970s was similar to, though a bit slower than, the rates reported for the two more accurate geographic definers of Skid Row discussed above.

Returning to the census tract definition of Skid Row, Table I-3 summarizes the size and growth rates of both population and what the census refers to as "housing units" in the two-tract area during the 1970s.

TABLE I-3
THE CENSUS PORTRAIT: POPULATION & HOUSING UNITS IN SKID ROW

Year	Population		Housing Units ^a		People in Group Quarters	
	Number	% Change	Number	% Change	Number	% Change
1970	4,334	+107	2,013	+8	2,190	+170
1980	8,979	+3	2,172	+3	5,926	

Skid Row (CCE) area is defined as Census Tracts 2062 and 2063.

^aIn 1980, a housing unit was defined in the census as a house, apartment or one or a group of rooms occupied by people who live or eat separately from other persons in the building and have direct access from outside or from a hall. The occupants can number up to ten, according to the definition used in the 1980 Census. Larger groups in similar rooms are considered to be living in group quarters. The 1970 definition, on the other hand, counted people as in housing units only if they were in groups of six or less. Also, in 1970 a dwelling could qualify as a housing unit if it did not have direct access but did have complete kitchen facilities, including a sink, stove and refrigerator. Therefore, the housing unit counts in 1970 and 1980 are not strictly comparable, but the definitional differences are not so great as to make them non-comparable for most analytic purposes. However, special procedures, described in the text, are used for skid row-type areas which, in the physical circumstances of Los Angeles Skid Row, make these physical criteria much less relevant to the classification than is the perceived permanency of the tenure of each tenant.

Source: 1970 and 1980 Censuses

For reasons that we will present in the course of the rest of this section, it is our belief that the 1970 census probably failed to count a substantial portion of the Skid Row population. The undercount was probably concentrated in the more transient component of the population, and may have involved omission of as many as 40-50% of the area's residents. On the other hand, it appears likely to us that the 1980 census, while still imperfect, enumerated a substantially greater share of the more inaccessible elements of the population. Thus, we conclude that the actual growth rate of Skid Row population during the 1970s is greatly overstated if calculated through comparison of the census figures for the beginning and end of that decade. Non-census sources, which are identified below, lead us to believe that the actual size of the housed component of the

1970 population was probably much closer to 6,500 than to the 4,334 recorded by the census. If this surmise is correct, the population did not double during the 1970s, but grew by something in the vicinity of one-third.

Regrettably, it is impossible to document in a conclusive manner what has happened to the size of the Skid Row population since the turn of the last decade. Census data are not available after 1980. The only available post-1980 projections of the area's population, those prepared by the Southern California Association of Governments (SCAG), are based primarily on the rate of expansion in the number of housing units, as defined by the census.¹² Though growth projections that start from this base are quite useful in most parts of the City, the extreme divergence shown in Table I-3 between population growth and enlargement of the number of what the census count recognizes as housing units shows that using the latter growth to project the former has historically been a very error-prone approach. Therefore, there are no quantitatively derived estimates or projections of post-1980 trends that we consider comprehensive or authoritative.¹³

However, the partial and impressionistic indicators that are available do seem to point toward the conclusion that rapid population growth, probably well above the rate actually experienced in the 1970s, has occurred in the years since 1980. The subjective impressions of the service providers are unanimously to the effect that the Skid Row population has grown fast since 1980, and now stands at a much higher level than ever before in recent memory. The figures that we have derived from a three-pronged survey of building capacity and occupancy tend to confirm the impression that in mid-1986 there may be something on the order of 11-12,000 people living in or within one block of the CCE area at any given time. This would imply a rate of growth since 1980 on the order of twice the rate that we think occurred during the 1970s, or a rate approximately equal to what the census reports for the latter decade. Although nothing short of a new census will provide clear confirmation of this estimate, it seems to us the most useful for planning purposes.

However, in order to be certain that policy makers are aware of the possible problems with the census population estimates, we will review the census procedures and their applicability to the peculiar enumeration problems of this area, as well as the 1986 population estimates that we have collected, after the following discussion of what is known or suspected about trends in population density.

POPULATION AND HOUSING DENSITY

The Skid Row area is not very densely populated in terms of overall physical space. It covers a large land area, comprising 50 square blocks and occupying 326.4 acres, many of which contain few residential buildings. Thus, the population density in the area in 1980 was only 27.5 people per acre, a quite modest ratio when compared to many urban areas where most residents live in multi-family structures.

By contrast, however, the area's housing stock is very densely occupied in the sense that the vacancy rate in rented space is low and every available free bed tends to be filled

¹² The slipperiness of the concept of a "housing unit" is discussed in the following sub-section.

¹³ Should the reader be interested in the SCAG projections for the area, all of which begin from the 1980 census data, an estimate is available for 1984 and a projection for 1990. The 1984 estimate is 9,291, or about 300 more people than were counted in 1980, and the 1990 projection is 10,454, or a growth of not quite 1,500 people over the decade. If realized, both figures would represent a radical slowdown from the growth rate recorded in the 1970s, though they would reflect a plausibly slow growth pattern in the factor upon which they are principally based -- the number of census-defined housing units in the area. The SCAG estimate and forecast are contained in its Report entitled Population, Housing, Employment and Income Profile, Report 35, Level F, Version 1, dated June 1, 1985.

every night. This fact is not in doubt. Indeed, it is strongly implied by the census report that the area's population more than doubled during the 1970s, while there was little or no construction of new commercial or charitable¹⁴ housing in Skid Row during that decade. Beyond the fact of high density, however, measurements of occupancy density and trends therein are complicated by the technique that is used by the census in skid row-type areas to define what it calls a "housing unit."

Table I-3 showed the data on growth in housing facilities as the census reported them for 1970 and 1980. The census does not count mission beds, and what are now called "secular shelters" did not exist prior to 1980, so that all of the housing recorded should be rented or, in extremely rare cases, owned. The footnote to the Table reports the respective characteristics of what the census labels a "housing unit," as opposed to "group quarters," as these terms are explained in census guidelines.¹⁵ It will be noted that an ordinary hotel room, which normally has direct access to a hallway, would seem to meet the criteria used to define a "housing unit" in both census years. Moreover, a 1969 survey commissioned by the CRA concluded, after a walk-through check of 112 buildings in the area, that these buildings contained 8,223 dwelling units, of which 7,118 were single rooms in commercial hotels and the rest were mission beds.¹⁶ Yet, as the Table shows, the 1970 Census reported only 2,013 people living in "housing units," as against 2,190 people living in "group quarters." Then, in 1980, the census recorded a very modest increase in the former group, but a near tripling of the latter. All of this occurred in a context of no new construction and very little physical change in the hotels that dominate the residential facilities available in the area.

Were these hotels primarily dormitory-style flophouses of the type that characterize some skid row areas across the country, their classification as "group quarters" would seem consistent with the census definition. But these hotels are very largely not of this character. Indeed, our own building survey suggests that the overwhelming majority of them are in fact comprised of single rooms accessible from hallways, and that the average occupancy rate is 1.25 persons. Virtually none of the hotels have communal dining facilities. On the face of it, all or nearly all of the rooms in these hotels would seem to qualify as "housing units," under the published census definition.

The reason for this apparent anomaly is that the Census Bureau applies a special, unpublished procedure to areas of this type.¹⁷ This procedure is designed to deal with the fact that skid row hotels represent a cross between ordinary hotels, which serve an entirely transient population, and residential hotels, which are the sole dwellings of their occupants. Census canvassers are first sent to see the Skid Row hotel managers, who are asked to estimate the number of their tenants who have no other place to live and are long-term residents of the establishment. Those who the managers so classify are counted as residing in "housing units," whereas the others present in the hotel are counted as living in "group quarters." If the questionnaires that are left with the manager to be completed by tenants later indicate that a tenant has been misdesignated, the count is adjusted accordingly. Thus, in the Los Angeles Skid Row, the distinction between "housing units"

¹⁴The term "charitable housing" is used here and throughout this Report to include both privately and publicly financed housing that is supplied at no charge to the user.

¹⁵1980 Census of Population and Housing, Los Angeles-Long Beach SMSA (Census Tracts), Document No. PHC80-2-226, Appendix B, "Definitions and Explanations of Subject Characteristics," pp. B-10-12, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington (August 1983).

¹⁶Ronald C. Vander Kooi, op. cit., concluded that there were 6,270 people living in Skid Row in that year, or about 45% more than the Census recorded in the following year.

¹⁷Telephone conversation with Michael Flanagan, Coordinator of Census Information, Los Angeles Regional Office, Bureau of the Census, August 20, 1986.

and "group quarters" usually has nothing to do with the nature of the dwelling; it is solely a function of the perceived permanency of the tenant's tenure.¹⁸

It follows that in this specialized context the census data reporting the numbers of people in each category tell us nothing about overall occupancy density, though they do provide a possible insight into the composition of population growth, as between people perceived by hotel managers to be long-time residents and those seen as more transient. Specifically, the figures indicate that the settled population was fairly stable in the 1970s, while the more transient population grew exponentially. When examined in more detail, the census reports also suggest that there were also at least slight geographic differences in the growth experienced. Although the number of people classified as more permanent grew by 8% over the decade in the area as a whole, that group actually shrank slightly (i.e., by 486 persons) in the faster-growing southwest census tract, while it grew slightly (by 645 persons) in the slower-growing northeast tract. In other words, where population growth was most rapid it was especially composed of people seen as transients. And, from an overall standpoint, the Skid Row population is reported by the Census' perceived permanence procedure to have shifted from a roughly 50-50 mix of permanents and transients in 1970 to a roughly 75-25 majority of transients in 1980.

What happened to occupancy density during this period is not illuminated by these figures, however. Therefore, we are forced to try to piece together hypotheses about the behavior of density from other sources.

We do this primarily by combining four propositions which enjoy either research support or substantial consensus among knowledgeable observers. First, as previously mentioned, our survey indicates that the current per-room occupancy rate is a relatively modest 1.25.¹⁹ Second, our work further suggests that the vacancy rate in Skid Row hotels has fallen sharply in recent years, to its current low of about 5%. Third, as already noted, the physical configuration of the area changed very little during the 1970s. Finally, as will be reported below, many special efforts were made in the 1980 census, as compared with the 1970 count, to count people in areas such as Skid Row that represent a particularly difficult enumeration challenge.

In our judgment, the probable net implications of these propositions are that: (i) there were a quite sizeable number of additional people living in the area in 1970 many of them probably transients, who were not counted in the census for that year; (ii) the 1980 census was substantially more successful in measuring the area's population, particularly that portion of it that it classified as transient; (iii) the number of rented dwelling units was essentially unchanged during the decade, but began the period with a relatively high vacancy rate; and (iv) this supply of units was adequate to absorb the real growth in the population (which was significantly less than comparison of the two censuses makes it appear) without any appreciable increase in per-room density.²⁰ Since 1980, however, continued growth in the area's renting population has cut the vacancy rate to its current very low level and probably also raised per-room density to a non-trivial degree, so that if the rate of population increase among residents who pay for their housing is to continue,

¹⁸Census officials readily concede that these perceptions of permanency are highly subjective, probably quite different from observer to observer, and subject to frequent change. Their very real operational problem is that there are few viable alternatives available for making such estimates.

¹⁹These and all of our findings concerning the housing stock are discussed at length in Volume III.

²⁰It should be noted that the interaction between population and number of units can sometimes be misleading, especially in very low-income areas. If, for example, the two walls separating three one-room units are knocked down, and then a large nuclear family or other grouping is moved into the resulting one-room space, the statistics will show an increase in population but a loss of two units. There is no specific evidence that this sort of phenomenon is a major explanation of the history traced here. The example is provided simply to guard against a simplistic perception of what population and unit trend numbers necessarily mean when translated into density ratios.

and no creation of new dwelling units occurs, there will be growing upward pressure on population density per room in the hotels.

OTHER PROBLEMS WITH THE CENSUS PORTRAIT

While there is little reason to question the basic direction in which the census indicators point, the reader should be aware that even the much improved census definitions and procedures used in 1980 are not perfectly suited to estimating the size of the Skid Row population and its housing stock. While admirably designed to cope with most elements of their formidable national task, neither the census geographic units nor its enumeration methodology is ideally fitted to the special needs involved in counting the population of areas of the Skid Row variety. Because of the importance that is necessarily attached to the census count, both in this analysis and by countless public and private agencies, it is appropriate to trace in some detail the reasons why census-based figures are necessarily inexact indicators of these crucial demographic characteristics.

First, as already noted, the geographic boundaries of census tracts do not coincide with the CRA's project area, so the area must be approximated by combining two tracts.²¹ A more serious problem derives from the census enumeration methods, which rely heavily upon a list of addresses. Because of this reliance, the census counting process works best where each person to be counted lives in a home or unit in a building with an easily identifiable address. Census count methods rely on a mail out/mail back procedure, with a series of follow-up visits to addresses that are on the list but from which individuals fail to respond to a questionnaire delivered by mail. For the vast majority of people, this is a perfectly workable and economical method of counting. Obviously, however, people without fixed or reasonably continuing addresses are unlikely to be reached in this way.

In 1980, in order to enumerate those without a permanent address, the Census Bureau employed special one-night procedures during which enumerators were sent out in teams to designated areas to locate individuals who had no such addresses.²² These procedures,

²¹Tract 2063 encompasses 26 of the 50 blocks in the Skid Row area. Tract 2062 encompasses 19 more of these blocks, but includes 10 others outside Skid Row. Together, therefore, these two tracts include 45 of the 50 blocks that make up the area, and overbound it by 10 blocks. The 10 extra blocks, which are part of Little Tokyo, are for the most part heavily commercial. The five Skid Row blocks that are not covered by the two tracts appear to contain very few people who would be recorded in a census count. Thus, we believe that the combination of the two tracts is as close as one can come to approximating the area for the purpose of using census data.

We tested another alternative, which was approximating the area by use of zip code 90013. This zip code covers three-fourths of the area, but overbounds it by including a large, though sparsely populated, portion to the east. It was determined that this distortion introduced a greater error than did the combination of census tracts. This decision was reinforced by the fact that the available information on population composition on a zip code basis is quite limited, as compared with the supply of such information based on census tracts. As already noted, this unavailability of key breakdowns of the data also prevented the use of block data, the most accurate form, chiefly because privacy concerns cause the Census Bureau to "suppress" many such breakdowns.

²²There were three of these procedures, respectively designated "T-night," "M-night," and "Casual Count." The last is discussed later in the text. The first two techniques operated as follows:

T-Night was used to enumerate transient guests in hotels, motels, and other establishments of 50 or more units. (Establishments with less than 50 units for transients were enumerated through the "Special Place" procedure by interviewing occupants directly, by leaving the Individual Census Reports for mail-back, or by transcribing information from institutional records.) Packets containing two Individual Census Reports (ICRs) and a postage-paid return envelope were left in advance for each room occupied by transients at every establishment scheduled for enumeration on T-Night. On this night, the desk clerk, manager, or other responsible party placed one of these packets in each transient's room. Guests were asked to complete the ICRs and mail them to the local Census District Office in the envelope provided. Transients who reported that they had no fixed address were allocated to the enumeration district in which the establishment was located.

while somewhat successful, still clearly fell short of locating many transient people who seek out niches in which to sleep. Moreover, if people avoided the enumerator -- because they were mentally ill or simply suspicious of official looking people asking questions -- their self-reporting may have been quite unreliable.

Other problems with the census procedures include the following:

- o The address list is likely to omit units in mixed commercial/industrial areas like Skid Row where industrial buildings are being used as regular residences by artists and others.
- o The procedure is likely to miss individuals who are less visible (e.g., not sleeping in the open).
- o The special procedures occur on a single night. In a fluid or seasonal population, those who generally sleep or receive services in Skid Row, but drift out of the area on that night or during that particular season, are omitted (though it is possible that they are counted in some other location).
- o Undocumented people are less likely to respond to the census enumerator.
- o If there is a high incidence of non-English speakers, undercounting is more likely to occur.

The Census Bureau believes that these problems were far more severe in 1970 than in 1980 because of two additional differences in the transient enumeration procedure that were introduced in the latter year. These first involved a more detailed and systematic method for listing the establishments to be enumerated, whereas in 1970 the list of establishments had been constructed based on the impressionistic perceptions of the individuals at the Census District office in the area. Second, a "Casual Count" procedure was added in an attempt to enumerate individuals who are not in overnight establishments at all. Enumeration crews were sent out on the streets for this purpose for two weeks, both in the daytime and at night. It is not clear, however, how great an impact even this additional procedure had on the population census for the Skid Row area. Only 13,000 to 23,000 additional individuals were enumerated through this process across the entire nation.²³

Still, as noted earlier, it seems likely that these efforts to improve the accuracy of enumerating the most transient population may partially explain why the population statistics in the area increased by such a large margin in 1980. Because of likely undercounting in 1970, and to a lesser extent in 1980, we have tried to confirm or amend the census portrait by also obtaining population estimates from others knowledgeable about the area.

M-Night was a special enumeration procedure for missions, flophouses, jails, detention centers, and similar places where persons stay for thirty days or less, as well as railroad stations, bus depots, and all-night movie theaters, where people are known to stay overnight. Occupants were enumerated as residents of group quarters. ICRs were left with the management for persons who were out or for newcomers who registered or entered the building that night after the enumerator had left. ICRs were picked up the next morning by an enumerator, who then transferred the information to the appropriate questionnaire. For further detail, see Procedural History and Data Collection Forms and Procedures Handbooks, Census of Population and Housing, Bureau of the Census.

²³ Interview with Michael Flanagan, Coordinator of Census Information Services, Los Angeles Regional Office, Bureau of the Census.

THE PICTURE AS SEEN BY THE SOCIAL SERVICE PROVIDERS

By and large, the census population figure for the area in 1980 remains generally plausible in the light of the estimates of the approximate 1986 population that were collected from experienced social service providers in the area.

As described in more detail in the social services Volume which follows this one, three sets of interviews were conducted with social service providers in the Skid Row area. Structured interviews were conducted with staff members of 34 agencies and, within these agencies, with the staff associated with 57 programs. In addition, open-ended interviews were conducted with 20 agency administrators. As part of each of these interviews, social service providers were given a list of population categories and asked to indicate how many people they served per week in each category. Providers were not asked to estimate 1970 population numbers. It must be understood that, while social service providers are intimately familiar with the area and knowledgeable about the people who live there, most programs that provide services do not gather systematic demographic data, and many are limited to contact with one or another specific part of the populace. Thus, provider views tend to be service-oriented, rather than demography-sensitive, and to be based on the elements of the population which each provider sees professionally or hears about from others.

These estimates, which are summarized in Table I-4 below, indicate that about 8,700 different people per week are served by the various agencies in the area. This estimate admittedly double counts people who receive services from multiple providers. On the other hand, providers indicate (as shown in detail in Table I-5 below) that they see only a portion of the Skid Row population, and, more specifically, that they do not believe they serve people who regularly sleep outdoors. In addition, there is doubtless a population of some size that neither sleeps outdoors nor receives any services. Given the high likelihood of double counting of the served population and the equally high probability that substantial numbers of residents go unserved for one reason or another, the estimate of the served population does not make the 1980 census estimate of the total population appear implausible.

Each of the agency administrators who was interviewed in depth was also asked to estimate the total population of the area. Table I-5 below summarizes the estimates given by the few providers who felt able to make such an estimate.

The wide range described by these estimates makes clear the differences of perception that characterize even the most knowledgeable observers of the Skid Row population. Nevertheless, the centerpoints of the majority of the estimates, when combined with the providers' uniform belief that the population has grown markedly since 1980, do not make the census count reported for 1980 appear grossly inaccurate.

TABLE I-4
PEOPLE SERVED BY SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES IN SKID ROW

	<u>People Served Per Week^a</u>
Angel's Flight	26
Asian Rehabilitation Services	2
Catholic Worker Community	112
Chrysalis	260
Downtown Women's Center	108
Emmanuel Baptist Rescue Mission	65
Fred Jordon Mission	235
House of Ruth	6
Indian Centers, Inc.	---
Inner City Law	100
Las Familias del Pueblo	130
Los Angeles Men's Place	70
Los Angeles Mission	370
Mental Health Advocacy Services	40
Metropolitan Community Church	65
Midnight Mission	280
Para Los Ninos	600
People in Progress	250
Project Return	10
Salvation Army Harbor Light	400
San Pedro Emergency Shelter	966
Skid Row Mental Health	240
St. Vincent de Paul Men's Center	400
Transition House (SRDC)	130
UCLA School of Nursing	200
Union Rescue Mission	740
United American Indian	52
Veterans Administration Outreach	63
Volunteers of America	1,646
Weingart Center	600
Weingart Medical Clinic	<u>400</u>
Total	8,691

^aEach agency head was asked to indicate as precisely as he or she could how many different regular users the agency has per week, how many periodic users and how many one-time users. Periodic users were assumed to use the service once per week. The question was not applicable to some types of programs. The count does not include people who only receive food. As indicated in the chapter on social services, about 4,000 additional people are served food, but receive no other service each day.

TABLE I-5
PROVIDER ESTIMATES OF TOTAL SKID ROW AREA POPULATION

Provider 1	6,000 - 10,000 people, most of whom are single men. Also, 500 who are homeless, but who are regularly in the area, plus an additional transient population numbering about 500.
Provider 2	200,000
Provider 3	30,000
Provider 4	10,000
Provider 5	10,000, based on the 1980 Census. The number coming into the soup kitchens, and a prior housing survey, suggest that there are 8,000 residents, plus 2,000 street people.
Provider 6	2,000 - 15,000 residents, plus 3-4,000 people who are on the streets at any one time.
Provider 7	8,000 - 10,000 people including those in the hotels and shelters. Of these, 700 are homeless, based on an LA Police Department count in 1985.
Provider 8	25,000 in the course of the year, some of whom may live outside the area during part of the year.

THE PICTURE AS SEEN BY THE SHELTER OPERATORS

A third way to estimate the size and growth of the Skid Row population is to collect the opinions and examine the records of those who rent or provide charitable shelter in the Skid Row area. As described at length in Volume III, this study added three new data sets to an already impressive array of existing systematic information on the Skid Row housing stock. The new data reflect (i) a telephone survey of 62 of the 104 hotel and apartment managers who manage buildings in the area or immediately adjacent to it; (ii) structured personal interviews with a random sample of 25 managers; and (iii) completion of a financial questionnaire by 18 owners of hotel and apartment buildings in the area. The information thus collected sheds some additional light on the plausibility of the census population figures.

Shelter operators were not asked to estimate the total population of the area, but the shelter inventory, which is summarized in Table I-6, indicates that, working from the bed capacity of the area (including charity-financed beds) and correcting for vacancy and per-room density rates, the housed population in 1986 is somewhere in the vicinity of 10,250. Thus this rough estimate of the housed component of the population in the area again suggests that, adding in the unhoused, there may now be approximately 11-12,000 people present at most times of the year.

TABLE I-6
SHELTER BASED ESTIMATES OF THE SIZE OF THE HOUSED COMPONENT
OF THE SKID ROW POPULATION

	<u>1986^a</u> <u>Occupants</u>	<u>1969^b</u> <u>Occupants</u>
Missions	1,003	974
Secular Shelters	1,193	0
Hotels/Apts.	<u>8,043</u>	<u>5,840</u>
Total	10,239	6,814

^aIn dwelling units located in 80 buildings located within one block of the CCE boundaries. The charitably provided beds are reported and assumed to be 100% occupied. The rooms in hotels and apartments are assumed to have a vacancy rate of 5.2% and a per-room density rate of 1.25%, as indicated by the shelter survey.

^bRonald C. Vander Kooi, op. cit., 1969 reported that occupied beds at that time in the area comprised 76.4% of the beds known to be available. Thus, a vacancy rate of 23.6% has been applied in order to estimate the number of occupants. A per-room density of 1.0 has been assumed. As previously reported, this study concluded that there were 6,270 people living in the Skid Row area in 1969.

The Table further shows that shelter-based estimates for 1969 suggest that the resident population was probably nearer to 6,800 than to the 4,334 recorded in the 1970 census.²⁴ This reinforces the conclusion presented earlier with respect to the probable underrecording that occurred in the 1970 count. If one further assumes that the 1980 census was much more accurate, then the actual increase in the housed population between 1970 and 1980 drops from a doubling to a growth of about one-third. If one added a final assumption to the effect that the unhoused population was seriously undercounted even in 1980, the implied growth rate would climb a bit higher.

ADDING PEOPLE WHO SLEEP OUTSIDE

It is generally agreed that the population of Skid Row fluctuates both from season to season -- becoming larger in winter and smaller in summer -- and from day to day. It is also undisputed that some proportion of the population is unhoused in any conventional sense, and that, despite the strenuous efforts of the census, some of the population has not been enumerated in recent counts. However, there are very few estimates, reliable or unreliable, of how many people sleep outside or in other unconventional places.

²⁴It must be kept in mind that the shelter-based estimates discussed here are for a slightly different geographic area than the two census tracts that are taken as a surrogate for the Central City East area. Thus, the figures are not perfectly comparable.

What data pre-existed this study may be summarized as follows:

- o The 1969 survey commissioned by CRA reported that "estimates by knowledgeable persons range from 700 to 1,800 men." Estimates by the study's author "range between 500 and 1,000."²⁵
- o A 1985 Survey by the Los Angeles Police Department Central Division in the Skid Row area concluded that there were about 700 persons sleeping outdoors during two winter weekends.²⁶

In the course of this study, shelter operators were asked to estimate how many persons live in the area in addition to those who are somehow housed, either for rent or through charitable activities. Table I-5 has already reported their estimates, which ranged from 500 to 4,000. Shelter operators do not believe that they can be at all definitive in this regard. They say that they deal most frequently with the same people that the Census Bureau is most likely to be able to count, i.e. those living in shelters, missions, and hotels, not those sleeping outside. This is confirmed by the data presented in Table I-7 below. It shows that fully 40% of the providers believe that their entire service population is housed in hotels or missions. Only a few agencies report that they regularly have clients who sleep in bars, theaters or abandoned buildings, or outdoors.

HR&A conducted a Skid Row demographic survey during October, 1986 to attempt to resolve the confusion as to how many people were now regularly sleeping outside. That study used procedures similar to those developed in Chicago²⁷ where the largest and most sophisticated analysis ever conducted attempting to specifically count the "homeless" population in a major American city was done in 1985 and 1986. The research strategy here involved personal interviews with a stratified random sample of people in the Skid Row area for the purpose of determining how many people there regularly are in the area on an average night in addition to the residents of the SRO hotels. Also, we hoped to construct a basic demographic profile of this population.

A total of 409 interviews were conducted in three strata of Skid Row area settings: missions and shelters; public gathering places; and a sample of 36 streets throughout the 50-block Skid Row area. One hundred twenty-nine persons were interviewed in missions and shelters and 280 in "street" locations. Interviews were conducted during different combinations of hours throughout the day and night by teams of interviewers experienced in conducting interviews in difficult situations, but specifically trained for this project.

²⁵Vander Kooi, op. cit., p. 19.

²⁶"Report on the Union Rescue Mission and the Proposed Relocation," James Glass Company, February, 1986. This source reports that in January 1985, the Los Angeles Police Department, having completed an informal two-weekend survey, reported counting a total of 700 persons on the streets. Chief of Police Daryl Gates pointed out that "the study was by no means a scientific survey -- it covered only the City (not the County) -- it didn't take into account people staying in rescue missions or in County subsidized Skid Row hotels and it was informal at best." Ackerman, Todd, "Cops Count Just 700 Homeless", Downtown News, February 4, 1985. It should also be noted that missions and other charitable shelter providers habitually increase their "bed" capacities in winter by permitting sleeping in chapels, eating halls and other common spaces. Thus, their capacity to house people tends to rise in winter, thereby presumably reducing the incidence of sleeping outside.

²⁷Peter Rossi, Gene A. Fisher and Georgianna Willis, Social and Demographic Research Institute (SADRI) and National Opinion Research Center (NORC), The Condition of the Homeless in Chicago. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts (September 1986).

TABLE I-7
SHELTER SITUATION OF PEOPLE SERVED BY SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

<u>% Clients</u>	<u>Sleeping in Hotels</u>		<u>Sleeping in Missions</u>	
	<u># Agencies</u>	<u>% Agencies</u>	<u># Agencies</u>	<u>% Agencies</u>
0 - 10	4	16	9	39
11 - 20	2	8	3	13
21 - 30	0	0	0	0
31 - 40	0	0	1	4
41 - 50	0	0	1	4
51 - 60	1	4	0	0
61 - 70	2	8	1	4
71 - 80	1	4	0	0
81 - 90	5	20	2	9
91 - 100	<u>10</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>26</u>
Total	25	100	23	99

<u>% Clients</u>	<u>Sleeping Elsewhere Indoors</u>		<u>Sleeping Elsewhere Outdoors</u>	
	<u># Agencies</u>	<u>% Agencies</u>	<u># Agencies</u>	<u>% Agencies</u>
0 - 10	5	56	5	46
11 - 20	1	11	1	9
21 - 30	1	11	0	0
31 - 40	0	0	0	0
41 - 50	1	11	2	18
51 - 60	0	0	1	9
61 - 70	0	0	1	9
71 - 80	0	0	0	0
81 - 90	1	11	0	0
91 - 100	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>9</u>
Total	9	100	11	100

As was the case in Chicago, interviewers were escorted by off-duty, out-of-uniform, armed officers from the Los Angeles Police Department. Most of the officers had previously patrolled the Skid Row area. As in the Chicago study, interview subjects were paid one dollar for a completed interview. In general, the interviewers received excellent cooperation from those they sought to interview. The refusal rate was 10% of subjects approached. Interviewers believe they obtained reliable information from 90% of all respondents.

Analysis of the weighted sample of interviews indicates that on the average fall day and night in 1986, there were about 1,000 people in the Skid Row area (in addition to those in the SROs, missions and shelters) who regularly slept outside or in other unconventional indoor locations, such as the Greyhound bus station. This includes people who slept in the parks, on the sidewalks and in the alleys. It does not include people who slept in the area's all night movie theaters, or who slept outside the area in nearby railroad yards or underneath the freeways which ring the downtown area. It also does not include those residing in SROs, nor in the residential programs at several social service agencies, which, for purposes of this study, more closely resemble residential hotels. Adding probable SRO and regular mission and shelter population to the people who sleep outside suggests, again, there are 11-12,000 people in Skid Row on an average night.

The demographic characteristics of this population are discussed in the next section. A detailed description of the procedures for the field survey is contained in Volume IV, Appendix I.

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

HOMELESSNESS

The question most often asked with respect to this population is how many of the people in the Skid Row area are "homeless." Enormous confusion has surrounded attempts to respond to this question, in large part because there are many different definitions of "homelessness" in use. Some would include the entire population of the Skid Row area. Others would include all those who habitually sleep in charitably supplied facilities. Still others would include only those who habitually sleep outdoors, regardless of the nature of the indoor locations where others may sleep.

Many of the differences between these definitions basically reflect the moral and emotional freight that the observer places in the word "home" in the course of defining "homeless." There can be no question that a large proportion of the residents of the Skid Row area have no homes in the sense that most Americans conceive of them. At the same time, many of the members of this group do have regular, dependable shelter in a more elemental sense. And, the evidence suggests that there are important and social policy-relevant differences between the segment of the population that usually does have the use of some form of conventionally recognizable sleeping facilities and the segment that does not. For this reason only, and with no intent to imply that the plight of the regular hotel or charitable shelter dweller is morally acceptable to an enlightened society, we believe that an understanding of the dynamics of the area is best served by using a quite conservative definition which counts as homeless only those individuals who do not regularly sleep in indoor facilities designed for that purpose.

Thus, for the purposes of this study, the "homeless" are taken to be people for whom:

- (1) The usual nighttime residence is in the streets, or in parks, movie houses, bus terminals, abandoned buildings, cars, trucks or other space not designed for shelter; or
- (2) The usual nighttime residence changes from night to night from shelters, to the street, to other facilities in this or other parts of the downtown.²⁸

One key aspect of this definition is that it classifies as homeless only the people who seem least likely to be part of either the population enumerated by the census or that served by the social service providers active in the area. The definition's focus is on the chronically homeless, those who usually sleep outside or in unconventional indoor settings. In adopting this focus, it should be noted that the definition does not include people who might be designated as "episodically homeless." Members of this group include people who deplete their resources before the end of the month and live on the street until their next monthly payment arrives, or who intermittently move back and forth between the homes of friends or family and the streets or shelters because conditions at home worsen. Long-time observers of the area report that a sudden expansion in this type of population can distend the population of Skid Row on any given night, which may help to explain the very high estimates of the homeless population that are sometimes made for the area.²⁹ Once again, this definitional decision is not intended to imply that the problems of the short-term homeless are any less pressing or deserving of policy response than those of the chronically homeless. The definition simply recognizes that the two sets of problems are different in important ways, and should be distinguished for purposes of policy analysis.

Such definitional choices can have very significant effects on the number of persons identified as homeless. The most frequently cited estimate of the size of the nation's homeless population was made by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in 1984 in a document entitled A Report to the Secretary on the Homeless and Emergency Shelters. This Report conferred on Los Angeles the title of "homeless capital of the United States." It estimated that between 31,300 and 33,800 "homeless" individuals were in the Los Angeles area. It also indicated that "homeless" persons were not widely distributed around the area but tended to be drawn or directed toward downtown. The implication was that there might be 15,000 or 20,000 "homeless" persons in the Los Angeles Skid Row area. Only New York, which HUD estimated to

²⁸ A similar, but not identical, definition was used in the first major study of homelessness in Los Angeles: M. Robertson, R. Ropers and R. Boyer, The Homeless of Los Angeles County: An Empirical Evaluation, 1984, (UCLA). That study refers to the "Long Term Homeless" as those with no present "residence," where residence is taken to mean a place of one's own where one can both sleep and receive mail. The other criterion applied was that this condition must have existed for a period of more than 12 months. The study does not classify as "homeless" people in Single Room Occupancy (SRO) hotels, of the kind that dominate the residential capacity of Skid Row, regardless of whether the occupant is paying the hotel with public benefit vouchers, because such hotels are places where one can stay reasonably regularly and can receive mail. On the other hand, it does classify as homeless people in some missions and shelters if they cannot receive mail in these locations. Although the demographic survey included people in missions and shelters, this definition would not count such people as homeless if they are habitually housed either in a single mission or by travelling a "circuit" of missions, with their movements controlled by mission rules governing the length of any single stay. For this study, only those regularly sleeping outside or in unconventional indoor places like the bus terminal are defined as homeless.

²⁹ The aforementioned Robertson study distinguishes two types of short-term homelessness. The first is episodic homelessness, which the study defines as the condition of people who have no present residence but are without one for less than twelve months and have had at least one previous episode of homelessness. The second is transitional homelessness, where the subjects have no present stable residence, have been homeless for fewer than 12 months, and have no history of homelessness.

have a "homeless" population of 28-30,000, came close to matching Los Angeles. Chicago was a distant third with an estimated 19,400-20,300 "homeless".³⁰

The HUD figures, which were based on the "best guesses" of local experts, defined as "homeless" all of the people who live on a regular basis in shelters or who use benefit program vouchers to rent rooms in hotels. In addition, the HUD figures included all who are "homeless" at any period of time throughout the year, making no distinction between those for whom the experience is one-time or episodic and those for whom it is chronic. Accordingly, this definition produces a much larger number of people designated as "homeless" than the total number of persons who live in the Skid Row area at any one point in time.

A less widely cited, but more empirically based, estimate of the total number of "homeless" persons in the Los Angeles Skid Row area was provided in 1984 by the Los Angeles County Department of Mental Health. It indicated that there were then 7,000 such persons in Skid Row.³¹ This study included the "episodically homeless" as well as all shelter and mission residents in its definition of "homeless," but it did not include the residents of Single Room Occupancy (SRO) housing (hotels and single room apartments). Consequently, it designated as "homeless" a number about one-third the size of the figure widely publicized by HUD in the same year.

Indeed, it is possible to read the available data to say that there is a certain general locational stability among much of the Skid Row population, whether sheltered in missions, in secular shelters or in hotels. The proposition that the majority of Skid Row people should be regarded as fairly settled residents, at least as peripatetic Americans understand the term, is supported by data from the most recent study of the population in the area, which was also done for Los Angeles County.³² This study, based on a carefully designed sample of 367 people housed in shelters, obtaining meals in Skid Row, or using indoor congregating places in missions and shelters, found that:

- o 86.5% of the individuals in the sample regularly slept in the downtown area.
- o 79% of them had not spent any time living away from Skid Row within the previous year.
- o Two-thirds of these individuals (64.5%) had lived in Los Angeles for more than a year. More than half had lived here for more than two years, and 43% had lived in Los Angeles for more than five years.

Ironically, in view of the census data's implication that virtually all of the growth in the area's population between 1970 and 1980 was comprised of people whom hotel managers placed in the more transient category that are listed as residing in "group quarters," the findings of this County study seem to be reinforced by the mobility data collected in the 1980 census for the two tracts used as a surrogate for Skid Row. These census data are presented in Table I-8 below. They indicate that nearly 38% of the 1980 population in the Skid Row area reported having been in the area for at least the previous five years. The

³⁰ U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, A Report to the Secretary on the Homeless and Emergency Shelters, Washington D.C.: Office of Policy Development and Research, 1984.

³¹ Roger Farr, Los Angeles County Department of Mental Health and Department of Public Social Services (1984) Assessment of the Mental Health and Social Service Needs of the Los Angeles Skid Row Area. Los Angeles, 1984.

³² Roger Farr, Paul Koegel and Audrey Burnam, Los Angeles County Department of Mental Health; A Study of Homelessness and Mental Illness in the Skid Row Area of Los Angeles, (March, 1986).

data further show that the race or ethnicity of the respondent seemed to bear no clear relation to his/her length of residence.

TABLE I-8
SELF-REPORTED LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN SKID ROW AREA

	<u>Total</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Black</u>
Length of Residence				
% Same Residence 5 Years	37.7	34.1	35.7	40.8
% Different Residence in U.S.	54.2	62.8	43.4	59.2
Central City, Same SMSA ^a	24.0	25.0	23.0	27.0
Remainder, Same SMSA	10.0	8.0	12.0	11.0
Different SMSA	20.0	30.0	8.0	21.0
% Abroad	8.1	3.1	20.9	0.0

^aStandard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

Source: 1980 Census of Population

As these data suggest, whether or not they are happy about it, many of the people in Skid Row today regard the area as their home, just as a rather different population reportedly did years ago. As the previously cited 1969 report to the CRA states:

In 1923, Nels Anderson described Skid Rows as the temporary home of hobos, but he made some mention of the "homeguard", those who had settled down in one town or another. The Skid Rows of America still have a proportion of men who are hobos and transients, but the trend over the decades has been toward less and less mobility. Particular skid rows have become the permanent homes of many men. The Skid Row of CCE is said to be gaining more of these "homeguards"....³³

In that study, respondents were asked whether they considered themselves residents or transients. In response, 240, or 87% of them, listed themselves as residents, and only 13% as transients.³⁴ About 6% reported having been in the area for more than 10 years, while only 10% had been in the area less than a week. Asked what use they made of the area, the majority of respondents (62%) identified it primarily as their home residence. The author concluded that "the great majority of residents of Central City East are persons

³³Vander Kooi, op. cit., p. 25.

³⁴The interviewees were mostly from the area's hotels and apartment houses, plus some from four then existing missions. No interviews were conducted on the sidewalk and no secular shelters existed at the time.

who have established whatever they have as a home in the area.³⁵ This clearly continues to be the case, at least to a considerable degree.

This is not to say, of course, that this "home" is the one that they want to have or that they arguably should have. The point is simply that, in making definitional decisions, there is a distinct difference between those who literally and chronically have the use of no indoor sleeping facilities and those who do use such facilities all or most of the time. It is at this point of difference that the particular definition of "homeless" that is used in this study is drawn. The count done for this study indicates that there are about 1,000 such people in the Skid Row area on any given night in the fall under this definition.

As to those who are not homeless, according to this definition, the data do not permit us to reach a firm conclusion about whether the proportion of the total Skid Row population that is clearly transient is growing, and if so how fast. Taken at face value, the division of the population data that the census performs by introducing a perceived permanency criterion as a means to distinguish people living in "housing units" from those in "group quarters" would seem to suggest that the residents who are perceived as transient by hotel managers grew very fast during the 1970s. However, several factors combine to dictate caution in reaching that conclusion.

First, and most important, the ratio between the monthly County General Relief grant to a single individual and the average rent of a Skid Row hotel room has changed radically in recent years. As we later report in Volume III, in 1976 the monthly Relief grant (\$161) was more than 2 1/2 times the median rental (\$60) for a hotel room, permitting the frugal grant recipient to carry the cost of a full month at a hotel. By 1986, however, the Relief grant (\$228) was only slightly higher than the average rent (\$200), making it impossible for the recipient who had no other source of income to pay the rent for the full month while also meeting other basic living expenses. By all accounts, for those residents who depend largely on General Relief, a frequent result of this mismatch between income and rent is a pattern in which the recipient lives in a hotel room for the first weeks of a month, moves to a mission when his/her Relief grant runs out, and then moves back into a hotel, though often a different one, to begin the monthly cycle anew.

Second, the period since 1980 has featured rapid expansion of the number of charitably financed living quarters in the area, many of which, like many of the older mission facilities, impose limits on the number of consecutive days or weeks that an individual can remain during each stay. This, too, apparently stimulates a cyclical pattern of temporary residences that may involve several missions or a combination of missions and hotels, each of which houses an individual who remains a permanent resident of the area, but not of any particular living place. Finally, as previously noted, census officials readily admit that levels of knowledge of their tenants' affairs differ greatly among hotel managers so that, for example, they consider it likely that one would receive significantly different responses to an inquiry of this kind depending upon which day one asked the question, or even upon whether one asked it during the day or the night.

In view of these complications, we believe that the only conclusion that can be confidently reached about the transiency of those in Skid Row who do not meet the definition of homeless used herein is that what might be termed "internal" transiency of residence within the area is much greater than it was in former decades. Trends in the incidence of "external" transiency, meaning movement of residence into and out of the area, are not decipherable from the data available.

³⁵Ibid. p. 26.

OTHER POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

It is clear that there have been distinct and profound changes in the demographic types of people who reside in Skid Row. Prior to 1980, the bulk of the population consisted of relatively senior men, many of whom were inebriates. As the 1969 survey performed for the CRA reported:

Skid Row continues to provide the community needs of a variety of middle-aged and older men, who for reasons of history, economics, family disorganization, alcoholism and other personality problems and other causes are not integrated into normal working and middle class communities....The community of Skid Row provides a set of facilities...for the provision of food, clothing, shelter and other human needs. A variety of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs are available. Particular male-oriented recreations are there especially in the bars. Specialized charities care for men during those periods when they are "down and out." The police provide the extensiveness drunkenness arrest procedures which are a bother to some but a life saver to many....Finally Skid Row provides a social setting in which men find membership and companionship when they would find it nowhere else....The community nature of Skid Row must be kept in mind...and must be a very important consideration in any plans for urban renewal of Central City East.³⁶

The characteristics of today's population, while continuing to include residents of the above description, are much more diverse and quite different on the average. In particular:

- o The average age of the Skid Row population has dropped from the 40-60 range to the 20-40 range.
- o The population includes many more members of racial and ethnic minorities.
- o Some families with children have joined the population.
- o Residents of the area tend to have dropped out of the social mainstream earlier than in former years; current residents tend to have more formal education but, it is often alleged, less work experience and resulting skills.

These changes were first suggested by the 1980 census data. They were then confirmed in 1982 by the first large empirical study of the homeless in Los Angeles County. Having conducted interviews with 238 people from Skid Row and from the western portion of the County, that study concluded that:

...(T)hey...are a diverse population which includes women, children, adolescents, single men and families. What many...have in common today is that they are younger, better educated and disproportionately non-white compared to previous...populations of the past....They...have joined the ranks

³⁶Vander Kooi, op. cit., p. 14.

of the traditional "skid row"...elderly, the physically and mentally disabled, and often alcohol or drug dependent....³⁷

The demographic findings of the most recent (1986) survey of the Skid Row population, performed for the Los Angeles County Department of Mental Health, also confirmed many of these changes, although, as discussed below, that study estimated that a much smaller proportion of women were present than had been counted in any census performed during the last 30 years.

Each major demographic characteristic of the population, as recorded in each data source, is described below.

Race and Ethnicity

By the time of the 1980 census, members of minority groups made up most (72%) of the Skid Row area population. Hispanics comprised 36% of the population, blacks 28% and Japanese, another 8%. Table I-9 shows the exact breakdown as reported by the census. Almost all of the Hispanics counted were of Mexican origin. Among the Asians, the vast majority (86%) were of Japanese origins or ancestry.

The 1986 Los Angeles County study also reported that the majority of its respondents were non-white. However, its sample contained more blacks (40%) than Hispanics (25%).³⁸

TABLE I-9
RACE AND ETHNICITY OF THE COUNTED POPULATION, 1980

<u>Classification</u>	<u>% Share^a</u>
White	33.9
Hispanic	36.1
Black	27.8
Japanese	7.7
American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut	1.3
Total Number Counted	8,979

^aNote: Percentages sum to more than 100% because "Hispanic" is not mutually exclusive with other identifications.

Source: 1980 Census of Population

Both of these Reports documented a sharp change from the racial character of the population that was reported to be present in the 1960s and 1970s. The 1960 Census indicated that only 38% of the population in these two Census tracts was non-white,

³⁷M. Robertson, R. Ropers and R. Boyer, The Homeless of Los Angeles County: An Empirical Evaluation, Basic Shelter Research Project Document No. 4, UCLA School of Public Health, as reported in Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives, Ninety-Eighth Congress, second session, 1984, p. 834-5.

³⁸Farr, 1986, op. cit., p. 115.

including 23% black and 15% other minorities. The 1969 CRA study showed an even smaller 31% of the population as non-white, including 22% black and 9% other minorities. All of the evidence suggests that the major shift in the racial and ethnic makeup of the area has occurred during the last 10 years.

Age and Gender

Tracking another major change, the 1980 census reported that, contrary to the traditional dominance of older men, only 21% of the Skid Row population was now 55 years of age or older. As detailed below in Table I-10, the age structure of the counted population was comprised of a mixture of several distinctly different groups:

- o Hispanics tended to be noticeably younger than members of other groups, with 15% under 14 years of age and nearly two-thirds aged 34 or younger. Conversely, only one Hispanic resident in 10 was 55 or older.
- o Blacks were concentrated in the middle-aged range, with more than two-thirds falling into the 25-54 range.
- o Whites were disproportionately older, with nearly two-thirds aged 35 or more, and one-quarter aged 55 or older.

**TABLE I-10
AGE STRUCTURE BY RACE/ORIGIN, 1980**

<u>Age</u>	<u>Population</u>			
	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>% of White</u>	<u>% of Hispanic</u>	<u>% of Black</u>
0 - 14	6.2	3.8	14.8	1.6
15 - 24	17.8	15.1	26.0	15.5
25 - 34	22.3	18.7	23.6	28.2
35 - 54	33.1	37.8	25.8	38.4
55 - 64	11.2	15.6	6.3	11.1
65+	<u>9.4</u>	<u>8.9</u>	<u>3.4</u>	<u>5.3</u>
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total, All Ages	8,979	3,041	3,239	2,500
Median Age (Years)	37	42	28	38

Source: 1980 Census of Population

The oldest single age subgroup in the population was made up of white females (median age 53). The youngest was comprised of Hispanic females (median age 23). Table I-10 shows the full age profile recorded by the 1980 census.

Even taking into account the probable infirmities of pre-1980 census data for Skid Row, the age structure of the population has clearly changed dramatically. The 1960 Census reported that 30% of the counted population was over 60 years of age. The average age of respondents to the 1969 survey performed for the CRA was between 45 and 49. The author of that study noted that this "offered some support for claims that the average age of CCE residents is, surprisingly, a little lower than in the recent past (probably reflecting the entry of young Negroes) and a little lower than in most other Skid Rows (which averaged about 52 years)".³⁹ The 1984 study confirmed that there were increasing numbers of young people in the area. And, the mean age of the most recent study sample, drawn in 1986, was 38; the median was 35. Two-thirds of that study's respondents (65.5%) were under 40.

Although changes in the age profile have been fairly clearly established, the same cannot be said about gender. There continues to be considerable confusion about what percentage of the population is female, and whether or not the number of women is increasing. The 1980 Census reported that 21% of the area's population was female. As might be expected, the numbers of male and female children (i.e., 14 and under) was approximately equal. A disparity favoring males then appeared and increased with age. This disparity peaked in the 45-54 age group, where there were eight males for every female, and then declined among the oldest group.

Taken by themselves, these census data suggest a considerable increase in the proportion of women residents. The 1960 Census had reported that only 13% of the population was female. Later, a check of the hotels in the area in December 1968 in connection with the CRA study concluded that only 23 of the hotels had any women in them at that time. In the survey sample, only 5% of the respondents were female, which the author thought to be representative of the population as a whole. Although these estimates of the female proportion during the 1960s differed greatly, if compared with the 1980 census data, both would readily yield the conclusion that the share of women expanded noticeably during the 1970s.

However, this conclusion is clouded by the fact that the sample drawn for the 1986 study conducted for the County included only a 4% share of females. To be sure, the author reported that this share probably underrepresented women "because women tended to avoid many of the facilities... but mostly because the one facility in the Skid Row area which exclusively serves women chose not to allow researchers on its premises." Even so, he further opined that only 10% of the Skid Row population is female, or about half the proportion reported by the 1980 census.⁴⁰ If this estimate is correct, it implies little if any change in the female share since the late 1960s, or, if both the earlier data and the 1980 census are to be believed, a roller coaster phenomenon in which the share of women rose quickly through the 1970s and then fell even more quickly thereafter.

Since the gender of an individual is a substantially easier and more certain characteristic to establish than any of the others reported on in this section, the diversity of these findings is puzzling. There is no perfect basis for selecting among the contradictory signals that they seem to be sending with regard to either the current situation or the direction of trends over time. Nevertheless, three factors lead us to select the census series as the most reliable in this case.

³⁹Vander Kooi, op. cit.

⁴⁰Farr, pp. 112-113.

First and foremost, the census attempts to count the entire universe represented by the population; it does not rely on a small sample. Despite the probabilistic statistical corrections introduced into census counts after the fact, it seems quite unlikely that a census count would err so greatly on the high side as the conflicting findings would suggest. In order to accept this, one would need to accept that a large number of the individuals counted by the census were registered as women when they were in fact men. This seems quite doubtful. It seems much more likely that the sampling methods of the other studies were structured in ways that turned out to systematically underselect women, leading these studies to quite misleading conclusions.

Second, the census data string together into a plausible time series; they do not require one to assume that gross discontinuities in the female component occurred between enumerations. Finally, the growth reported in the census is consistent with all of the impressionistic estimates received from veteran observers of the area, all of which report visible increases in the number of women. This view is also consistent with the higher incidence of families that will presently be reported.

In sum, although no decisive proof apparently exists, we are inclined to believe that the 1980 census data are probably approximately correct in concluding that about one Skid Row resident in five is a woman, and that the share of women is rising at least slowly over time.

Nativity and Language Proficiency

Overall, according to the census, 30% of the 1980 Skid Row population was foreign born. Among Hispanics, 62% were foreign born, compared with 15% of whites and 1% of blacks (see Table I-11 below). The self-reported English language proficiency of Hispanic adults and children was extremely low. Over nine-tenths of Hispanics reported speaking English "not well" or "not at all." Trends in nativity and language proficiency are impossible to establish with precision, since neither the 1969 CRA survey nor the 1986 Los Angeles County survey recorded data bearing on these characteristics.

**TABLE I-11
NATIVITY AND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, 1980**

<u>Nativity</u>	<u>All</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Black</u>
% Foreign Born	29.8	14.7	62.4	0.7
<u>Language</u>				
# Non-English Speakers, Ages 5 -17	---	28	301	---
% Low English Proficiency	---	58.3	95.6	---
# Non-English Speakers, Ages 18+	---	508	2,385	---
% Low English Proficiency	---	18.1	91.3	---

Source: 1980 Census of Population

Education

About two-thirds (65.4%) of all of the Skid Row residents counted in the 1980 Census reported that they had attended at least one year of high school. Almost half (44.3%) said that they had graduated from high school. Although only one in 20 respondents (5.2%) reported having graduated from college, more than one in six (18.1%) said that he/she had attended college. Indeed, 183 residents reported being enrolled in college in 1980, and another 155 said that they were enrolled in high school. Special caution is in order with respect to self-reported data of this kind, since people may tend to overstate their educational accomplishments, but there is significance in the mere fact that Skid Row residents report themselves to have received rather more formal education than many might expect.

Table I-12 below displays the educational characteristics of the Skid Row area population as reported by the census in 1980. As the Table shows, the educational attainment levels of blacks and whites were extremely similar. A larger proportion of blacks (78.9%) than whites (71.8%) reported completing at least one year of high school, while a slightly higher proportion of whites (50.3%) than blacks (48.7%) said that they had graduated from high school. For college attendance, the figures from these two groups were virtually identical, at just under 16%. The proportion of whites (6.1%) that reported graduating from college was higher than that of blacks (4.1%). But, resuming the parallel, the numbers of white and black college students reported were almost exactly the same.

**TABLE I-12
EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTED POPULATION, 1980**

<u>Characteristics</u>	<u>All</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Black</u>
<u>Enrolled in School:^a</u>				
# Nursery or Kindergarten	---	7	21	0
# Elementary	---	25	166	48
# High School	---	39	76	76
# College	---	63	30	62
Total Number	---	134	293	186
<u>Educational Attainment:^b</u>				
% Less Than Grade 8	26.7	18.9	53.6	16.3
% Grade 8	7.8	9.4	10.2	4.7
% High School 1 - 3	21.1	21.5	15.8	30.2
% High School Graduate	26.2	28.4	9.5	29.0
% College 1 - 3	12.9	15.8	6.9	15.6
% College Graduate	<u>5.2</u>	<u>6.1</u>	<u>4.0</u>	<u>4.1</u>
Total Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(6,909)	(2,444)	(1,933)	(2,060)

^aPersons 3 and older.

^bPersons 25 and older.

Source: 1980 Census of Population

Most of the figures for blacks and whites contrasted sharply with those recorded for Hispanics. Only a bit more than one-third (36.2%) of Hispanic respondents reported having attended high school, and only one in five (20.4%) said that he/she had graduated. Still, the proportion of reported college graduates among Hispanics (4%) was almost identical to that of blacks. Also, again reflecting Hispanic dominance of the younger age ranges among Skid Row residents, nearly half of all of the students in the area who were identified in the census were recorded as Hispanic. Children of this ethnicity far outnumbered both blacks and whites at the elementary school level, but were equaled by blacks at the high school level and substantially outnumbered by both blacks and whites at the college level.

It should also be noted that, in contrast to the perhaps surprisingly high overall educational attainment reported by Skid Row residents, more than half of all the Hispanics and more than one-quarter of all Skid Row residents counted in 1980 had completed fewer than eight years of schooling, a standard which is often used as an operational definition of illiteracy.

Although data on educational attainment trends are fragmentary, the information that is available indicates that overall educational levels in the area are rising. The 1960 Census found that Skid Row residents had an average of nine years of education, and that 30% reported having completed high school. In the 1969 study, 40% said that they had finished high school.⁴¹ This compares with the 44% who reported having completed high school in the 1980 Census. The respondents to the 1986 study reported themselves as being even better educated -- 51% said that they had completed high school, and 23% reported having attended at least some college. Both figures remain well below averages for Los Angeles County, where, as of 1980, 70% had completed high school and 40% had some college, but both appear to be rising over time.

Household Makeup

The reliability of census data on household composition is undermined by the distinction, discussed earlier, between what the census calls "housing units" and what it calls "group quarters." As we have seen, the criterion that distinguishes these two categories is not the nature of the dwelling but the degree of perceived permanency of the resident(s). The more transient are registered as living in "group quarters," regardless of the nature of the structure or the life style of the persons who live there. Yet, the census then proceeds to classify only residents who seem permanent enough to be recorded as residing in "housing units" as living in what it calls "households."⁴² All those who are recorded as dwelling in "group quarters" are said to be living outside "households." Since in principle it is entirely possible for groups of people to live in transient households, the utility of the census reporting is quite limited. About all that can be concluded from it is that something on the order of 90% of all Skid Row residents probably live alone or in arrangements that do not fit the traditional definition of a multi-member household.

The 1980 Census also counted just over 300 families in the area, a count which generated the data presented in Table I-13 below. As the Table shows, most families counted were of Hispanic derivation, and were headed by either married couples or females. Almost three-quarters of the Hispanic families of these types had children under age 18, as compared to more than one-third of the white families and virtually none of the tiny

⁴¹This study reported that a striking 84% of the members of the sample reported having attended high school, but the definition of "high school" that the study used included eighth and ninth grades, rather than only grades 10-12, as is the census practice. This probably accounts for most of the difference in response.

⁴²A household is defined by the Census as all the persons who occupy a housing unit.

number of black families recorded. The Hispanic families who were counted averaged 1.60 children, whereas the white families averaged 1.1.

TABLE I-13
MAKEUP OF THE COUNTED FAMILY POPULATION, 1980

Family Type	All	White	Hispanic	Black
Total Families	304	66	189	12
Married-Couple Families	191	40	98	8
% w/Children Under 18	37%	38%	64%	13%
Number of Children	160	39	153	2
Female Householders	51	14	41	2
% w/Children Under 18	76%	86%	88%	---
Number of Children	75	22	70	2
Other Family Type	62	12	50	2

Source: 1980 Census of Population

Other census data, as well as information from other sources, indicates that the number of children resident in the Skid Row area both was and is substantially higher than is suggested by the family data just reviewed. As was shown in Table I-10, the specific 1980 Census count of children aged 14 or under was 540.⁴³ Moreover, in 1981, Las Familias del Pueblo estimated that there were 750 children in the area.⁴⁴ In 1986, a count was made of children with addresses inside the CCE boundaries who attend Ninth Street Elementary School. Adding in pre-schoolers from a survey conducted by Saint Vibiana's Parish, this enumeration suggests that there cannot be fewer than 404 children in the area today, and that there are probably many more.⁴⁵ Reports from various organizations that serve the children of Skid Row -- DPSS caseworkers, Para Los Ninos, Las Familias del Pueblo and the Ninth Street School -- indicate that more than 80% of the children are Hispanic, and that the average length of stay for a family on Skid Row is 1 1/2 to four years.

Whatever the precise situation of families and children, however, the single member household clearly dominates Skid Row, as it always has since the area took on its present

⁴³ It is not unusual to find such inconsistencies in census data. We rely on the 540 figure on the advice of Peter Morrison, a well known demographer at the Rand Corporation, who assisted with the demographic component of this study.

⁴⁴ This organization conducted a family survey and counted 300 families, or about the same number as were recorded by the census. However, it then assumed that families averaged 2.5 children, a substantially higher average than the census counted.

⁴⁵ The school reported 110 children of ages 5-12 enrolled from Skid Row addresses in 1986. St. Vibiana counted 294 children aged four or less in December 1985. Presumably, these figures do not include all of the children actually in the area. Some Skid Row children, for example, were sent to Utah Elementary School in 1986 when Ninth Street reached its capacity. Also, some school age children are probably not enrolled in school at all.

character. The 1960 Census reported that 92% of the persons living in the area were single. In the 1969 survey, 95% were at least living alone, whether or not they were still legally married.⁴⁶ The author of that study commented that "those persons who inhabit American Skid Rows are, by definition, outside of family circles but any Skid Row area will have a few marginal women and marginal families".⁴⁷ While the legal marital status of current residents is unknown in many cases, and the number of families and children seems clearly to have grown, it is still true that the vast majority of residents live outside any traditional group or family setting.

Labor Force Status

The 1980 Census reported that just over one-third (34.9%) of Skid Row residents between 16 and 65 years of age said that they had worked full time (i.e., 50-52 weeks) during 1979. About half (55.1%) of the males and about one-third (33.7%) of the females who were counted were classified as members of the labor force (i.e., either employed or actively looking for work). Of those in the labor force, three-quarters were unemployed. The census breakdown is presented in Table I-14.

**TABLE I-14
LABOR FORCE STATUS AND WEEKS WORKED, 1980**

<u>Status</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Black</u>
<u>Labor Force Status^a</u>				
<u>Weeks Worked</u>				
Worked in 1979	5,159	1,692	1,867	1,233
% Worked 50-52 Wks.	34.9	36.8	32.6	37.3
<u>Total</u>	8,381	2,810	2,678	2,433
% in Labor Force	50.9	47.7	60.3	51.6
% Unemployed	27.5	21.7	27.2	35.5
<u>Females</u>				
% in Labor Force	33.7	31.7	41.5	34.5
% Unemployed	25.0	19.4	27.8	32.4

^aPersons 16 - 65.

Source: 1980 Census of Population

⁴⁶The study reported that at that time 60% of the sample reported having been married, but having their marriages ended or interrupted by divorce (29%), death of the spouse (16.5%) or separation (14%). Vander Kooi, op. cit., p. 24.

⁴⁷Vander Kooi, op. cit., p. 24.

As the Table shows, the proportion who worked full time was quite similar for blacks and whites, though a bit lower for Hispanics. Conversely, Hispanics were much more likely to be in the labor force than members of either of the other two groups. Blacks, and especially black women, were most likely to be unemployed. In reviewing the Table, however, the reader will note an apparent anomaly in the census figures with respect to the employment status of blacks. The figures for current reported employment (i.e., those labeled "Labor Force Status" in the Table) suggest a much higher level of black unemployment than do the figures for weeks worked during the preceding year. Whether this implies some systematic difference in the regularity or predictability of the work for which black residents are habitually hired cannot be discerned from the data. Therefore, we report these data without any accompanying explanation.

The more recent data that are available paint an even more pessimistic employment picture. In the 1986 Los Angeles County study, only 15% of the sample reported having some employment, while 66% described themselves as unemployed. The remainder said that they were either disabled or not seeking employment for other reasons. Of those who reported having worked in the past, 43% had not done so during the previous year.

This employment picture is apparently very different from the scene at the end of the 1960s. In 1969, the CRA survey of Skid Row reported that work was reasonably readily available for those in Skid Row. There were then 10 labor agencies in the area, and three out of five of the survey sample respondents (61%) said that they did work. In the words of the study Report:

The best time to observe the labor market in CCE is from four to six a.m. weekdays. Fifth Street becomes the busiest one in Los Angeles as men stream out of hotels, stop for breakfast or groceries and then make their ways to labor offices, waiting trucks or street corners where employers will come. Hundreds of handbill distributors and agricultural workers will be gone by five a.m. They are crowded into drafty trucks and buses and sometimes even charged for the ride to work. Many others will wait in labor agencies to see whether odd jobs around the city, such as unloading freight cars or doing yard work are offered...The Skid Row labor market is one of "on the street hiring" as much as agency work.⁴⁸

Today, there are at least five private temporary employment agencies⁴⁹ in the Skid Row area, together with a State-sponsored Casual Labor Office located in the Midnight Mission. The State agency reports that it places only 100 people per month, or about eight people per day, of the 25 to 35 that come in. Half are hired to do gardening or household work, half for dishwashing or warehouse work. By law, veterans receive priority. Very little service is provided to women, in part because the Office is housed in a men's mission, and in part because the employment requests received are geared primarily for men.

However, the private employment agencies appear to be more active. One reports sending 100 Skid Row residents to work per day, while another reports sending 150 to 200 per day. Most employer requests are for unskilled labor, such as truck driving and maintenance and warehouse work, which are not typically done by women. Therefore, as with the State Office, these agencies also serve very few women. A cooperative network exists between the job agencies in order to link the demand for employees with those looking for work.

⁴⁸ Vander Kooi, op. cit., p. 37.

⁴⁹ This is the number listed in the 1985 Yellow Pages Telephone Directory.

A high rate of work disability is one factor that depresses employment in the area, as is shown on Table I-15 below. More than one in five Skid Row adults was recorded as having such a disability in the 1980 Census. The ratio was about one in four for both whites and blacks, falling to one in eight for Hispanics. This difference may have reflected a difference in the age distribution of Hispanics compared to others, or a different understanding of the concept of work disability among Hispanics, more than a difference in average physical or mental condition, but this cannot be inferred from the census data.

TABLE I-15
FACTORS AFFECTING EMPLOYMENT, 1980

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Black</u>
<u>Disability</u>				
% w/Work Disability ^a	21.3	24.5	12.3	28.3
<u>Length of Residence</u>				
% Same Residence 5 Yrs.	37.7	34.1	35.7	40.8
% Different Residence in U.S.	54.2	62.8	43.4	59.2
Central City, Same SMSA	24.0	25.0	23.0	27.0
Remainder, Same SMSA	10.0	8.0	12.0	11.0
Different SMSA	20.0	30.0	8.0	21.0
% Abroad	8.1	3.1	20.9	0.0

^aPersons age 16 - 64.

Source: 1980 Census of Population

The residential mobility data presented in Table I-15 are inconclusive regarding how much their physical movement precludes or deters regular employment of current area residents. These data indicate that about one-third of the adult population, and roughly the same share of each racial/ethnic subgroup, reported having been in the same residence for the five years prior to 1980, while approximately another one-third reported having moved during that period from a residence within the Los Angeles-Long Beach Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). Thus, about two residents in three had spent the previous five years living within the SMSA. Although physical distance from the job would seem to discourage employment among people with incomes as low as those of many Skid Row residents, many of the jobs that employ them involve employer-supplied transport. It is unclear, therefore, whether their movement within the SMSA necessarily restricts their employability to a greater or lesser degree. The characteristic that

distinguished the Hispanic population from the others was the fact that one in five had come into the area from outside the country during the period, a factor that doubtless did reduce their immediate employability in some cases. Nevertheless, as we have seen, Hispanics were recorded as less likely to be unemployed than blacks, and only modestly more likely than whites.

Taking all available indicators into account, it appears that the level of employment of Skid Row residents may be falling. However, the rate of decline is unclear, as is the balance among contributing causes.

Income

The aforementioned practice of the census to equate "households" only with those Skid Row residents who are perceived as permanently settled enough to be recorded as living in "housing units," as distinct from physically identical "group quarters," greatly devalues census statistics on household income in terms of their utility for a study of this kind. The reason for this limited definition of "household" -- the extreme difficulty in determining the collective income of the residents of a genuine "group quarters" -- is understandable and eminently defensible. Nevertheless, since only a relatively minor fraction of the population reported in the 1980 census⁵⁰ was classified as living in "households" -- thusly defined, the income figures reported refer to a similarly minor fraction of all residents, and one selected according to a perceived permanency criterion that bears no known relation to the economic circumstances of the population as a whole.

Unfortunately, however, there is no other source of general income data. Therefore, we report the census figures in this sub-section for whatever value they may have as general indicators of the income status of at least the small component of the Skid Row population that was recorded in 1980 as living in this narrow definition of a "household." The reader is forewarned, however, to refrain from imputing these "household" income numbers to the area population as a whole. We simply do not know the degree to which such an imputation would be valid or invalid.

Unsurprisingly, the income levels reported by these Skid Row residents are very low. As indicated in Table I-16, the overwhelming majority of households (89%) reported annual incomes of less than \$10,000 in 1979. The median household income in the area (\$4,680) was less than 20% of that for Los Angeles County as a whole.⁵¹ More than half of the residents of Skid Row fell below the poverty income level, as defined by the Federal government, and a full 80% of families with children had incomes below the poverty level.

The income situation of black householders was notably worse than those of the other two large racial/ethnic groups. The median income of black households was \$3,730, compared to \$4,593 for whites and \$5,639 for Hispanics. The difference between the incomes of blacks and those of the other groups was reflected in a noticeably larger proportion of blacks (62.1%) registering below the poverty line. Despite their higher median incomes, Hispanics recorded a slightly higher proportion of individuals below the poverty line because their household incomes were more frequently earned by families. Taking families alone, Hispanics (whose families were typically larger) showed the greatest incidence of poverty.

⁵⁰ See Table I-3. Of 8,979 people, only 2,172 (24%) are reported as living in "households."

⁵¹ It should be remembered in reviewing this number that Skid Row households are far more likely to be comprised of only one member than households elsewhere in the County.

TABLE I-16
REPORTED INCOMES OF THE COUNTED "HOUSEHOLD" POPULATION, 1980

<u>Characteristics</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Black</u>
<u>Sources of "Household" Income^a</u>				
% Received Earnings	51.3	59.7	72.5	41.6
% Received SSI	29.6	22.0	8.8	11.1
% Received Public Assistance	25.4	28.6	18.0	27.7
<u>1979 "Household" Income</u>				
% Under \$10,000	89.0	84.4	87.0	95.6
\$10,000 - \$24,999	11.2	15.6	13.0	4.4
Median Income	\$4,680	\$4,593	\$5,630	\$3,730
<u>Poverty</u>				
% Persons Below Poverty Line	52.2%	49.1%	51.8%	62.1%
% Families Below Poverty Line	47.2	53.9	69.4	[^b]

^aReported sources of income may add to more or less than 100% because some respondents reported receiving from more than one source, while others reported receiving income from none of the three sources.

^bSuppressed by census because number is too small to fit within privacy guidelines.

Source: 1980 Census of Population

As to the relative prominence of the main reported sources of income, the Table shows that about half of the Skid Row "households" drew income from their earnings in 1980, a proportion that many may find higher than expected. Conversely, only about one-quarter of these perceivedly more permanent residents reported receiving Public Assistance, and a slightly higher proportion reported receipts from Social Security, which presumably included Supplemental Security Income for the blind and otherwise disabled.

The Table also suggests that Hispanic "households" were particularly likely to be dependent on their earnings, as against government assistance. Although white and black householders were approximately equal in the percentage receiving public assistance, the higher age profile of whites apparently meant that twice as large a proportion of them received Social Security payments. The fact that, unlike the other two groups, blacks frequently reported not receiving funds from any of these three sources cannot be explained from the available data, although their low percentage of income from earnings may be attributable to the higher unemployment rate shown in Table I-14.

Alcoholism, Drug Abuse and Mental Illness

The census reports no data on disorders such as alcoholism, drug abuse or mental illness. But the 1986 Los Angeles County study was primarily concerned with establishing the mental health status of Skid Row residents. That study concluded that 28% of all Skid

Row residents had in the course of their lifetimes suffered from chronic mental illness.⁵² In addition, it found that just over one-third (34%) had engaged in chronic substance abuse in the absence of major mental illness. Another 12% had had both experiences simultaneously. Thus, nearly three out of four (74%) of all residents either were or had been mentally disturbed, substance abusers, or both. It is this concentration of individual and social pathologies that most distinguishes Skid Row from the rest of urban society.

The total share of the population made up of chronic substance abusers, regardless of their mental health, was reported at 46%. However, almost four of every 10 people in the sample (37.8%) had never been either chronic substance abusers nor chronically mentally ill.

The same Report also analyzed current disorder patterns. These data are reproduced below in Table I-17. They show that nearly one-third are chronic substance abusers, with alcohol still nearly three times as prominent as other drugs. The next largest group is comprised of people with affective disorders, followed by those who are characterized as having antisocial personalities. And, more than one in 10 in the sample was found to suffer from schizophrenia. The authors concluded that:

These data confirm that a significant number...have serious mental health problems. Indeed, even using a conservative definition...as many as a third might be termed severely and chronically mentally ill...These data also make it clear that substance abuse and dependence present serious problems for a very significant number....While the composition of the Skid Row population has changed to include increasing numbers of non-white, younger and mentally ill individuals, substance abuse and dependence has not disappeared by any means....⁵³

The level of mental illness and instability revealed by these figures appears to differ significantly from what was said to be characteristic of the area at the end of the 1960s. In the 1969 study done for CRA, 40% of the sample reportedly had some physical disability, but only 4% were found to have mental disabilities. Some of this difference may be explained in terms of the differing sensitivities and professional specialties of the respective researchers, but the discrepancy seems too large to be entirely an artifact of differing foci of observation. It seems much more likely that the current data bear out the frequent allegation that widespread deinstitutionalization of mental patients, without adequate community-based facilities to absorb them, and the absence of new facilities for the younger population which may never have been hospitalized, has substantially changed the balance of infirmities of Skid Row residents in the direction of a much higher concentration of chronic mental illness.

⁵² Individuals were regarded as severely and chronically mentally ill if they had a diagnosis of severe cognitive impairment (e.g. organic brain syndrome), or a diagnosis of schizophrenia, or a diagnosis of major affective disorder. See Farr, p. x.

⁵³ Farr, et. al., ibid., p. xii.

TABLE I-17
CURRENT DISORDERS IN THE 1986 SKID ROW POPULATION^a
(reported as happening within the previous 6 months)

Schizophrenia	11.5
Any Affective Disorder	19.9
Manic	7.5
Depressive	15.5
Cognitive Impairment	3.4
Panic Disorder	5.3
Generalized Anxiety Disorder	10.6
Antisocial Personality	17.4
Substance Use Disorders	31.2
Alcohol	27.1
Drugs	10.1

^aThe mental disorders are defined using the National Institute of Mental Health Diagnostic Interview Schedule. "Antisocial personality" is defined as the presence of personality traits which have become "inflexible and maladaptive" and which "cause either significant impairment in social occupational functions or subjective distress". (p. 132)

Source: Farr, et. al., p. x

Exposure to Crime and Violence

All available evidence suggests that crime is rampant in the Skid Row area, even though a great deal of it probably goes unreported. Police statistics on reported crime for the period 1981-85, which are reproduced below in Table I-18, show that the number of crimes reported in recent years has run about half as high as the number of people we believe to be in the area. This works out to approximately 500 crimes per thousand people per year, which compares to the City-wide crime rate of about 95 crimes per thousand people. To be sure, not all of these crimes are against people, as opposed to property, but the reported crime rate in Skid Row remains staggering.

The reported crime rate is also growing. The Table shows it as increasing by about 12%, or an average of 3% per year over the four-year period. The fastest rising category was auto burglary, up 86% in the last four years. Nevertheless, conversations with LAPD Central Division staff indicate that narcotics activity is the most serious crime problem in the Skid Row area today, particularly cocaine and heroin traffic and the violence which often is associated with drug sales. Officers note that activity has increased substantially as the price of rock cocaine has dropped in recent years. Narcotics transactions take place in most parts of the Skid Row area, but they are most prevalent on the street and in alleys along Skid Row's western edge (Spring Street and Main Street, between 5th and 7th Streets). According to the police, this area appears to be attracting drug customers from all over Los Angeles.

TABLE I-18
REPORTED PART 1 CRIMES AND ATTEMPTS, 1981-85

<u>Year</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1981-85 Change</u>
Total Crimes	5,191	5,422	5,642	5,682	5,833	+12%
Total Crimes Against Persons	1,806	1,844	1,735	2,039	2,197	+22%
Robbery ^a	992	1,106	1,040	1,160	1,306	+32%
Rape	137	50	48	51	53	-61%
Aggravated Assault	649	649	620	802	808	+25%
Murder	28	39	27	26	30	+7%
Total Property Crimes	3,367	3,565	3,890	3,629	3,623	+8%
Theft ^b	2,142	2,138	2,242	1,784	1,790	-16%
Burglary	1,225	1,427	1,648	1,845	1,833	+50%
Business	322	328	400	360	306	-5%
Residential	186	185	243	211	193	+4%
Auto	717	914	1,005	1,274	1,334	+86%
Other ^c	18	13	17	14	13	-28%

^aRobbery is theft using force or intimidation on the victim. This category includes street robbery.

^bThefts include theft from persons, purse snatching, theft from or of autos, bicycle theft, and grand theft.

^c"Other" is primarily "bunco", or con games.

Source: Los Angeles Central District Police Statistics

Still, the crime that is reported may constitute only a fraction of the crime that actually occurs in the area. Underreporting, which is a problem in all types of areas, is probably an especially serious one in an area where three-quarters of the residents either are suffering or have suffered from chronic mental illness and/or substance abuse. The data from the 1986 survey for Los Angeles County seem to confirm this, reporting that 54% of the respondents said that they had been victimized in the area within the last 12 months, with assault and robbery accounting for the majority of instances, but that only 42% of those who experienced such problems said that they had reported them to the police.

Prostitution is another criminal activity that is prevalent in Skid Row, but it rarely involves the kind of violence often associated with drug activity. To the displeasure of some, jaywalking has recently emerged as a new focus of police enforcement activity in the area because seven fatalities have occurred since the beginning of 1986 as a result of illegal crossing of busy commercial streets in the area.

Again, this high crime atmosphere is quite different from that reported in the 1969 study. The author of that study concluded that the area had a good deal of small time crime, but little beyond that. A "thieves' market" was reported to be in operation in one block of

Fifth Street on weekends, at which small valuable items -- e.g., transistor radios and jewelry -- were allegedly traded. But, the only dangerous crime reported was "jackrolling" -- the strong arm robbery of those who were too intoxicated to resist. At that time, while one half of the respondents in the study said they had been bothered by crime, only 18% said the streets of Skid Row were unsafe.⁵⁴ Current reports have a different and decidedly more ominous tone.

COMPARISON OF POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF "SIDEWALK PEOPLE" WITH OTHERS

The hardest portion of the Skid Row population to count and characterize is made up of those people who sleep regularly on the streets, in abandoned buildings, in the parks, or in unconventional indoor places like the Greyhound Bus Terminal, or who change their locations from night-to-night from the sidewalks, to the missions or the secular shelters and back to the streets. These residents do not sleep regularly in the shelters/missions or in the SRO hotels and are the people most likely to be missed in the census portrait.

As noted above, a field survey was done to count the population sleeping on the streets (called here the "sidewalk people") in the fall of 1986. It also provided limited data on the characteristics of this population, though it should be recognized that not only the size of the population but also its demographic characteristics may vary during different times of the year. As detailed below, compared to the total Skid Row population as described in the 1980 Census, the "sidewalk people" include a disproportionate concentration of blacks and of men, are similar in age to the total population in the Skid Row area, and include a smaller percentage of population which is foreign born.

"Sidewalk People" Compared to Census Reported Population

RACE⁵⁵ - The 1980 Census indicated that the Skid Row population was 28% black. In contrast, the field survey suggests that the sidewalk population is 69% black (see Table I-19). With respect to whites and Hispanics, the census indicates that there is a larger proportion of each group (34% and 36%, respectively) in the total population than appear to be in the sidewalk population, which measure to be about 11% white and about 16% Hispanic.

TABLE I-19
RACE AND ETHNICITY OF SKID ROW AREA POPULATION,
BY TYPE OF REGULAR SLEEPING PLACE

<u>Race</u>	<u>Regular Sleeping Place</u>		
	<u>% of "Sidewalk"</u>	<u>% of "Missions/Shelters"</u>	<u>% of SRO Hotels</u>
White	11%	17%	37%
Black	69	71	47
Hispanic	16	6	13
Other	2	3	3

⁵⁴Vander Kooi, op. cit., p. 45.

⁵⁵Note that race and gender data were determined in the field survey by the interviewer, not given by the interviewee.

AGE - The 1980 Census indicated that the largest single age group in the area, comprising about one-third of the total population, was made up of those between 35 and 54. This is also true for the sidewalk people (see Table I-20). Forty-five percent of the sidewalk people are in this age bracket. Thirty-five percent of the sidewalk people are between 31 and 40, compared with the 21% reported for the area by the census.

TABLE I-20
AGE OF SKID ROW AREA POPULATION,
BY TYPE OF REGULAR SLEEPING PLACE

<u>Age</u>	<u>Regular Sleeping Place</u>		
	<u>% of "Sidewalk"</u>	<u>% of "Missions/Shelters"</u>	<u>% of SRO Hotels</u>
Under 30	26%	25%	18%
30 - 39	41	40	28
40 - 59	29	34	40
60 and Over	3	1	15

GENDER - The 1980 Census reports that the Skid Row population is 21% female. The sidewalk population appears to be only about 10% female.

NATIVITY - The census indicated that 30% of the 1980 Skid Row population was foreign born. In contrast, only 12% of the sidewalk people are foreign born. Among those born in the U.S., the largest single concentration is of people from the South, who comprise 34% of the total. Ten percent of the sidewalk people were born in California and of these, most (7%) were born in Los Angeles.

"Sidewalk People" Compared to the Mission/Shelter Population

The field survey also provided information about the similarities and differences between the sidewalk people and people who regularly sleep in missions and shelters (see Table I-21 below). The most significant difference is in the length of time that the members of each group have been sleeping in each set of circumstances. A majority of those who have been regularly sleeping in Skid Row for less than two months or more than one year regularly sleep in the missions and shelters. Among those in an intermediate time category -- regularly sleeping in Skid Row for between two months and one year -- two-thirds regularly sleep in the streets, alleys and public parks, rather than in missions and shelters.

TABLE I-21
REGULAR SLEEPING LOCATION BY LENGTH OF TIME IN SKID ROW AREA

<u>Sleeping Location</u>	<u>0-2 Months</u>	<u>2-12 Months</u>	<u>Over 1 Year</u>
Missions	37%	19%	45%
Shelters	<u>21</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>8</u>
Total	58%	36%	63%
Streets, Alleys	19%	40%	27%
Parks, Open Places	10	20	12
Bus Station	3	1	0
Abandoned Buildings	0	0	2
Car or Truck	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	33%	62%	41%
Other	8%	3%	6%

Source: HR&A (October, 1986)

"Sidewalk People" Compared to the SRO Population

A later volume of this Report describes in detail the demographic characteristics of tenants who occupy Single Room Occupancy (SRO) hotels.⁵⁶ As one would expect from the differences between the sidewalk population and the population of Skid Row as a whole, which mainly consists of SRO residents, the sidewalk population appears to have distinctly different demographic characteristics than the SRO population. The characteristics of the people who sleep in the three different types of places -- missions, hotels and on the sidewalk -- in Skid Row are compared below.

RACE - The people who sleep on the sidewalks include a much greater concentration of blacks than do the hotels, which have a much greater concentration of whites. (For reasons stated above, the Hispanic population of the SRO hotels may be underreported.)

⁵⁶ See The Changing Face of Misery, Volume III-Inventory of Shelter Resources in the Skid Row area. The data reported there and summarized here detailing the demographic characteristics of Skid Row area SRO tenants are drawn from an unpublished 1984 survey conducted by the Single Room Occupancy (SRO) Housing Corporation, and a survey of hotel managers conducted by HR&A in 1986. Since the data on the mission and sidewalk populations are drawn from the HR&A field survey, the data on the area as a whole from the census, and the information on the hotel population from the SRO survey, care must be taken in making comparisons. Note also that the SRO Housing Corporation study excluded what it refers to as "family type" hotels. It may be that as a result, the survey understates the total size of the Hispanic and female populations in the SROs.

AGE - The population in the hotels appears to be distinctly older than the sidewalk or mission populations.

GENDER - The gender breakdown suggests that the percentage of women in the hotels is quite similar to that on the sidewalk, although still only about half the 1980 census figures for the Skid Row area as a whole (see Table I-22 below). Women who sleep outside may be leaving the Skid Row area, perhaps for safer adjacent areas, to find regular outdoor sleeping places. But, the size of the female population may also be underreported in the SRO figures, since family hotels were excluded from the survey from which the data are drawn, and in the mission/shelter figures, since interviewers were denied access to one of the two shelters oriented toward women in the Skid Row area.

TABLE I-22
GENDER OF SKID ROW AREA POPULATION,
BY TYPE OF REGULAR SLEEPING PLACE

<u>Gender</u>	<u>Regular Sleeping Place</u>		
	<u>% of "Sidewalk"</u>	<u>% of "Missions/Shelters"</u>	<u>% of SRO Hotels</u>
Male	91%	85%	92%
Female	8	12	9

LENGTH OF TENURE - The tenure breakdowns suggest that people sleeping on the sidewalks have been in Skid Row a shorter time than people sleeping in missions or hotels (see Table I-23 below). Both the missions and hotels contain greater concentrations of people with longer tenure, with the most noticeable difference in the 1-3 year category.

TABLE I-23
LENGTH OF TENURE OF SKID ROW AREA POPULATION,
BY TYPE OF REGULAR SLEEPING PLACE

<u>Age</u>	<u>Regular Sleeping Place</u>		
	<u>% of "Sidewalk"</u>	<u>% of "Missions/Shelters"</u>	<u>% of SRO Hotels</u>
Under 6 Months	62%	53%	42%
6-11 Months	9	2	18
1 - 3 Years	17	30	28
Over 3 Years	12	16	9

THE PICTURE AS SEEN BY SOCIAL SERVICE PROVIDERS AND SHELTER OPERATORS

Social Service Providers

Providers of social services in Skid Row report that the composition of the populations they serve has indeed been changing in recent years. The views of several are summarized in text Table I-24, below. Like the dry statistics, their descriptions suggest a growing number of families, greater numbers of younger men, and greater numbers of persons who appear to be chronically mentally ill.

Shelter Operators

The population composition observed by the shelter operators relates only to 1986 conditions, but it seems to confirm, on the two dimensions which they can observe closely, the shifts in the age and race/ethnicity of the population that are noted above. Shelter operators see somewhat different elements of the population, depending on the type of facility they manage. The sub-populations which use the facilities are described in detail in Volume III. However, looking across the different housing types, as is done in Table I-25, suggests that a very large proportion of the population that is commonly seen by shelter providers is black (44-54%), and that it is relatively evenly divided between those in the 18-35 age group and those in the 35-60 age group, with fewer people in the over 60 category.

CONCLUSION

The picture painted by the population and demographic figures is one of change. Some of it is frightening, some of it is hopeful. All of it poses new difficulties with which residents, service providers and civic authorities must somehow cope. All sources of information converge upon the conclusion that the Skid Row population has diversified and now includes the young as well as the old, families as well as single people, blacks and Hispanics as well as whites, drug abusers as well as alcoholics and non-abusers, the mentally ill as well as many who suffer from no apparent mental disorder. The characteristic which most unites these populations over time is, of course, poverty. In Volume II we review the social services that are currently provided to ameliorate the various aspects of this condition.

TABLE I-24
SOCIAL SERVICE PROVIDER APPRAISALS OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE
IN THE SKID ROW POPULATION

Provider 1	The men are younger and emotionally more immature. They are 18-26 chronologically and 12-16 emotionally. They lack job skills that the older alcoholics had. There is a decreasing level of job competence among our client population. There is a more common "cheap life" attitude, increased violence and greater willingness to abuse people. This is an unschooled population. There are more women, especially among the mentally ill, and more mentally ill people in toto.
Provider 2	In 1977 we thought we needed detox facilities for public inebriates and we renovated to produce 270 detox beds. Now we only need 40. There are more mentally ill than alcoholics. There are also more veterans now.
Provider 3	There are more families seeking food services, especially at the end of the month. There are many younger, multi-substance abusing, mentally ill people. These people are more difficult to rehabilitate than traditional Skid Row type alcoholics, who usually got here after some sort of career or job, with skills and work experience. We are also seeing more real violence.
Provider 4	The population is larger, younger, and better educated in the sense that there are many more high school graduates than there used to be. There is <u>less</u> history of hospitalization; not a large number are going through a process of deinstitutionalization. There is more violence, and more have served jail terms on misdemeanor charges.
Provider 5	This population is younger, blacker and larger.
Provider 6	Many more people are on the streets, especially families. There are more immigrants and refugees, especially from Central America. There are more mentally ill, who are in turn victims of crime, both direct and sometimes violent or exploitative in nature, such as pushing drugs onto the mentally disabled.
Provider 7	I hear claims that there are more mentally ill, more women and more economically displaced people. Few are in this condition for solely economic reasons.
Provider 8	Drug use is increasing. Violence is increasing. There are more mentally ill, younger people in general and younger mentally ill. The average age of our clients is 30. Violence is in the mainstream due to drugs and overcrowding.
Provider 9	In the last five years we see, in addition to traditional, older, white male populations, also women, families, younger blacks and Hispanics and younger white males.

Provider 10

In 1983, the population we served was primarily black. Today it is still primarily black but younger (19-21), more dangerous, and more drug dependent. There has been a decline in the number of families and an increase in the presence of black gangs, rather than Hispanic gangs. Some shelters still get the traditional population because it has a reputation of being safe for them, which is increasingly a concern as the population changes. There are a lot of able bodied younger black men, and also younger black women.

Provider 11

There are more young people, more Latinos, more black women and more children.

Provider 12

The population has gotten younger over the last four years; the average age is now in the mid 20s.

Provider 13

From 1974 to 1977 the Row was dominated by white males, 50-60 years old. Today the average age is 35 years and whites are one of several ethnic groups of more or less similar numbers. There is more drug use. Many more are homeless. There is a tremendous increase in violence: windows broken, vehicles broken into. Hot and cold weapons are more common. Predators are on the street at check dispersal time. After 6 p.m., there is more hanging out in groups, active street life, party clusters on corners, open drug dealing. In the seventies the street in the evening was quiet and the street people were lonely. Some of the group life is for self protection from others.

Provider 14

The population was white, aged 40-50. Now it is younger, there are more blacks, more veterans, more women, more families, more Hispanics, more refugees. We think the traditional Skid Row population has immigrated to Santa Monica, where it is safer. The overall population has increased.

TABLE I-25
SHELTER OPERATOR ESTIMATES OF THE COMPOSITION
OF THE POPULATIONS THEY SERVE ON SKID ROW^a

	<u>% of Missions</u>	<u>% of Shelters</u>	<u>% of Hotels</u>
<u>Age</u>			
18 - 35	33%	44%	45%
35 - 60	51	52	40
Over 60	13	6	15
<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>			
White	32	26	37
Black	44	54	47
Hispanic	19	14	13
Asian	1	3	2
Other	3	---	1

^aNumbers do not add to 100 because they are averages of the different estimates in each category of operators.

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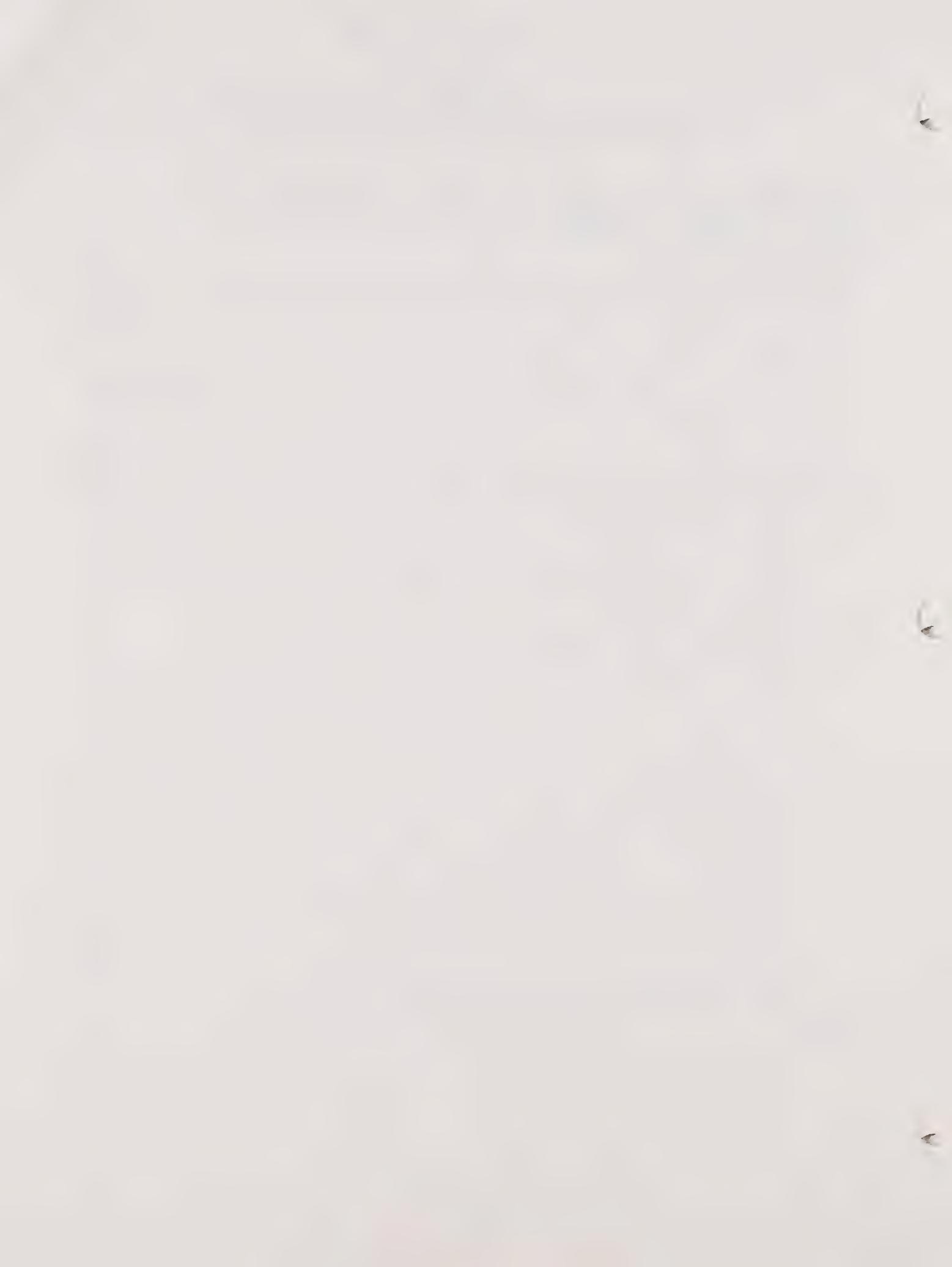


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VOLUME II SOCIAL SERVICES

AN INVENTORY OF SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES AND SERVICES IN THE LOS ANGELES SKID ROW AREA

This Volume presents a summary inventory of social service agencies and programs operating in 1986 in the Skid Row area. It begins with a discussion of the context of government income maintenance and medical subsidy programs in which these services are delivered. It then proceeds to a summary quantitative description presenting the data reported by all agencies regarding the populations they serve, the services they provide, and their organizational structures, facilities, staffing levels, budgets and referral networks. Then, eight major types of social services are identified, and capsule pictures are provided of the agencies which primarily work in each of these social service areas and the activities that they carry on in each.¹ Finally, this Volume presents a summary of the opinions of social service agency administrators as to the current priorities and gaps in the pattern of social services available in the area.

RESEARCH METHODS

Information for this portion of the study was generated through the administration of three questionnaires. The first was used to obtain overall agency data from 34 social service agencies located in Skid Row. These are listed in Table II-1. A second provided more specific data about individual programs operated by these agencies to serve the Skid Row population. This distinction proved useful in situations where an individual agency administers multiple programs, some of which are not targeted to the Skid Row population in particular. A third questionnaire provided more evaluative data on assessments of the area and its programs by senior staff of 24 of the social service agencies.²

In the following analysis, "agency data" refers to information generated from responses to the agency questionnaire. The term "program data" is used to describe information provided in response to the second questionnaire. The 61 different programs operated by Skid Row social service agencies are shown in Table II-2, together with the linkage between program and executing agency.

¹For the reader interested in greater detail, Volume IV: Appendices, contains an agency-by-agency inventory of the 34 social service providers in the area.

²These "policy interviews" were restricted to agencies that are located in the Skid Row area, who operate direct programs there (as distinguished from financing programs carried out by others), and whose service populations are mainly located within the area.

TABLE II-1
SKID ROW SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES
(in alphabetic order)

1. Angel's Flight
2. Asian Rehabilitation Services
3. Catholic Worker Community
4. Chrysalis Center
5. Downtown Women's Center
6. Emmanuel Baptist Rescue Mission
7. Fred Jordan Mission/American Soul Clinic
8. House of Ruth
9. Indian Centers, Inc.
10. Inner City Law Center
11. Las Familias del Pueblo
12. Los Angeles Men's Place
13. Los Angeles Mission
14. Mental Health Advocacy Services
15. Metropolitan Community Church
16. Midnight Mission
17. Office of Alcohol Programs
18. Para Los Ninos
19. People in Progress
20. Project Return
21. St. Vincent de Paul Men's Center
22. Salvation Army
23. San Pedro Emergency Shelter^a
24. Skid Row Mental Health
25. SRO Housing Corporation
26. Transition House^a
27. Traveler's Aid Society of Los Angeles
28. Union Rescue Mission
29. United American Indian Involvement
30. UCLA School of Nursing/Union Rescue Mission
31. Veterans Administration Outreach Program
32. Volunteers of America
33. Weingart Center Association
34. Weingart Medical Clinic

^aThese agencies are formally parts of the Skid Row Development Corporation (SRDC), but are quite distinguishable as separate and very different entities.

TABLE II-2
SKID ROW SOCIAL SERVICE PROGRAMS^a

<u>Program</u>	<u>Agency</u>	<u>Program</u>	<u>Agency</u>
Angel's Flight	Angel's Flight	Child Abuse Prevention	Salvation Army/ Para Los Ninos
Asian Rehab. Services	Asian Rehab. Services	Latchkey	Salvation Army/ Para Los Ninos
Emmanuel Baptist Rescue Mission	Emmanuel Baptist	Transition House	Skid Row Develop. Corp.
Catholic Worker Community	Catholic Worker Community	San Pedro St. Emergency Shelter	Skid Row Develop. Corp.
Emergency Services Program	Chrysalis Center	Skid Row Mental Health Clinic	Skid Row Mental Health Clinic
Higher Services Program	Chrysalis Center	Housing Management	SRO Housing Corp.
Residential Facility	Downtown Women's Center	Moving Assistance	SRO Housing Corp.
Day Care	Downtown Women's Center	Project Planning	SRO Housing Corp.
Los Angeles Mission	Los Angeles Mission	St. Vincent de Paul Men's Center	St. Vincent de Paul Men's Center
Student Program	Fred Jordan Mission	Adult Program	Traveler's Aid Society
Transient Program	Fred Jordan Mission	Youth Program	Traveler's Aid Society
House of Ruth	House of Ruth	Volunteers	Traveler's Aid Society
Indian Centers, Inc.	Indian Centers, Inc.	UCLA School of Nursing Health Center at Union Rescue Mission	UCLA School of Nursing
Legal Aid/Social Work Advisory	Inner City Law Center	Overcomers	Union Rescue Mission
Weingart Medical Clinic	LA Co. Dept. of Health	Kids Klub	Union Rescue Mission
Office of Alcohol Programs	LA Co. Dept. of Health	Bethel Haven	Union Rescue Mission
Project Return	LA Co. Dept. of Mental Health	Green Oak Ranch	Union Rescue Mission
L.A. Men's Place	L.A. Men's Place	Hispanic Ministry	Union Rescue Mission
Las Familias del Pueblo	Las Familias del Pueblo	Guest Program	Union Rescue Mission
Mental Health Advocacy Services	Mental Health Advocacy Services	Typical Program	Union Rescue Mission
Metropolitan Community Church	Metropolitan Community Church	Crossroads School	Union Rescue Mission
Midnight Mission	Midnight Mission	Crisis Intervention	United American Indian Involvement
Youth Services	Para Los Ninos	Social Services	United American Indian Involvement
Family Crisis Center	Para Los Ninos	VA Weingart	VA Outreach Clinic
Latchkey	Salvation Army/ Para Los Ninos	VOA Alcoholism Program	Volunteers of America
Child Care	Para Los Ninos	Ballington Plaza Residential	Volunteers of America
Child Abuse Prevention	Salvation Army/ Para Los Ninos	VOA Womens' & Couples' Weingart Center	Volunteers of America Weingart Center Association
Public Information, Education and Referral (PIER)	People in Progress		
Civilian Assistance Patrol	People in Progress		
Alcohol Free Living Center	People in Progress		
Downtown Traffic School	People in Progress		
Social Model Alcohol Rehab..	Salvation Army/ Harbor Light		
Spiritual Social Activities	Salvation Army/ Harbor Light		
Feeding Program	Salvation Army/ Harbor Light		
Los Angeles Day Care Center	Salvation Army		

^aWhat constitutes a "program" was self-defined by each agency in its response to the questionnaire.

The program and agency questionnaires were administered by the staff of Juarez and Associates. Policy interviews were conducted by two senior researchers who themselves have histories as social service providers in other contexts. Some interviews were conducted with a team of individuals representing the social service agency, but most were done on a one-on-one basis. The interview instruments were first mailed to agency and program respondents, so that they could familiarize themselves with the information being requested and prepare to respond. Personal interviews were then conducted with agency and program administrators to obtain this information. The interviews averaged two hours. An additional 1 1/2 hours was required if a policy interview was conducted as well. After the initial interview questionnaire responses were reviewed, a series of follow-up phone conversations was held to clarify ambiguous points or to review missing data. Seventeen of the 34 agencies were contacted for such follow-up interviews.

Data collection and quantitative analysis concerning non-governmental social service agencies are normally difficult to obtain. Most agencies that provide social services do not collect data on their client populations beyond daily utilization statistics, which usually are in the form of a simple head count. Many of the agencies discussed herein are private, non-profit organizations, and were reluctant to disclose their financial situations in any detail. Further, all data that have been collected are self-reported, and should be reviewed in the knowledge of the limitations imposed by this form of data generation.

THE SKID ROW AREA SOCIAL SERVICE SYSTEM FUNDING CONTEXT

The social service agencies and programs discussed later in this Volume can only be properly understood in the context of the system of government entitlement programs that have a very important impact on the Skid Row economy. A number of public agencies and programs provide direct funds or cost subsidies to individuals of various types who reside in and/or use services provided in the Skid Row area. The flow of these dollars is extremely difficult to track in exhaustive fashion, but there is no question that it is critically important both to the functioning of the Skid Row economy and to the effectiveness of the social services provided by private agencies. Indeed, just the portion of this flow that can be relatively easily identified is substantially larger than total social service agency spending. And, some additional monetized benefits that cannot be traced, such as veterans' pensions, are known to contribute, but cannot be estimated on the basis of available records. Finally, a large number of non-monetized benefits -- e.g., Food Stamps, free medical care at public hospitals,³ donated clothing, volunteer time -- are also present and critical to the well being of many residents, but cannot be translated into money terms on the basis of available data bearing on just the Skid Row area and/or its immediate environs.

As a result of these difficulties, it is clear that some portion, and perhaps a very considerable portion, of the total flow of entitlements and non-monetizable benefits into the area is unknown. The entitlement flows that are most easily traced are income

³This refers to care for which the patient does not pay, and for the cost of which the hospital is not reimbursed by Federal or State benefit programs or from private insurance.

maintenance payments from the County's General Relief (GR) program, and those from Federal Social Security programs of both the ordinary Social Security (SS) and Supplemental Security Income (SSI) varieties. As will be discussed in detail below, a composite estimate that we have compiled for 1985 suggests that in that year these entitlement programs delivered about \$18.6 million in direct income to the closest approximation of the Skid Row population that can be constructed from the available data. We reemphasize that it is unclear what fraction of the total flow of direct entitlement payments into the area this represents, but from all accounts it probably constitutes a majority of the money received by entitlements other than the considerable proportion of the population that is comprised of veterans.

The financial picture is murkier when one's attention shifts to entitlement programs that do not generate direct payments, but rather subsidize the costs of medical care. As will be shown below, attempting to estimate the share of Federal MediCare and State MediCal expenditures that is reasonably attributable to Skid Row residents, as well as the volume of residual County financing of "free" health care provided to this population, is a difficult and ultimately only partially feasible task because of severe limitations on available data. From the indicators that can be assembled, however, it appears that total annual MediCare spending in the area is at least \$4.2 million, and that annual MediCal subsidies total at least \$2.7 million. In addition, the County appears to spend some \$12 million to provide medical care to the not inconsiderable proportion of indigent persons from the area who have medical needs but do not qualify for MediCare or MediCal benefits. This subsidy for the medically indigent is funded both from the State's Medically Indigent Adult (MIA) Block Grant and from County tax dollars. Thus, the total annual volume of these medical care subsidies to the Skid Row area may be on the order of \$19 million.

For reasons stated above, there are also problems in assembling a complete financial picture of the annual expenditures of private, non-profit social service agencies in and for the area. One service facility, the Fred Jordan Mission, has adopted a policy against disclosure of its budget. Here again, therefore, what can be calculated is only a minimum figure which must, by definition, be lower than the actual one because it does not include all of the service activities known to be operating. The work performed in connection with this study suggests that this minimum figure is now about \$15 million per year, and that it poses considerably less risk of grossly understating actual annual spending of this kind than does the counterpart minimum figure presented above for Federal and County entitlement programs and medical cost subsidies.

In sum, the figures that can be compiled from three major direct public income maintenance agencies, from the reports of service providers willing to share financial data, and from ballpark estimates of medical care subsidies suggest that total annual Skid Row area spending from these sources, which, again, does not include veteran's pensions or Food Stamps, amounts to about \$52 million per year. If, as we have suggested in Volume I, there are about 11-12,000 people in the area, this means that an average of about \$5,000 per person is expended by just these public and private agencies each year, though this seriously understates the true average spending by all such agencies if all entitlement, non-monetizable and social service activities were taken into account. These figures should, therefore, be seen as only the demonstrable component of public benefit program spending in the area; it is certain that actual spending is considerably greater. We now turn to a more detailed discussion of these sources of support for Skid Row residents.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS

As already noted, the most readily traceable Federal funds coming into the Skid Row area are those paid to residents under regular Social Security (SS) and Supplemental Security Income (SSI) programs.⁴ Regular SS payments are made to retired individuals who are at least 62 years old, the surviving spouse or children of an individual who qualifies for Social Security benefits, and/or disabled individuals who have worked long enough to accrue Social Security benefits. SSI, on the other hand, provides grants averaging \$500 per month to individuals who suffer from certified physical or mental disabilities that cause them to be unemployable for a period of at least 12 months. The Federal government provides the base payment for this benefit, and the State adds a supplement. Because of the required period of unemployability and the general rigor of the disability qualifications for SSI, many applicants spend extended periods on the County General Relief rolls awaiting approval of their SSI applications. As a result, Skid Row residents who receive SSI have quite often previously received GR.⁵

The reader will note that the Social Security figures that we shall discuss will refer to the zip code unit (i.e., 90013) that most nearly approximates the Skid Row area. As noted in Volume I, the zip code unit is not as accurate a depitor of the actual Skid Row area as is either the combination of two census tracts that was employed for most of the preceding demographic discussion, or the collection of specific city blocks that represents the most accurate reflection. However, Social Security data are only broken down to this level of detail in zip code units. Therefore, we use these units for these rough transfer payment estimates with the caveat that the geographic area from which they arise does not perfectly coincide with either the generally accepted "boundaries" of the Skid Row area or with the slightly different spatial boundaries of the area that is the basis of most of our demographic analysis. It follows that the figures derived below can serve only to indicate the basic order of magnitude of the probable Social Security payments to area residents.

Moreover, the difficulties involved in attempting to track these flows do not end with problems of geographic inexactitude. The procedure through which the Social Security Administration computes the annualized number of recipients is to take the most recent month for which figures have been compiled and multiply the total for that month by 12. As of the initial drafting of this Report in September 1986, the latest month for which SS figures had been compiled was June 1985. Thus, this is the base from which the SS numbers labeled "1985" herein were calculated.

As to SSI, the situation is more complicated. Program officials from the Los Angeles area reported that they could isolate the number of SSI dollars that were paid into the Skid Row zip code during a period as recent as June 1984, but that they had no corresponding

⁴Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) is also partially Federally financed (half of its cost is paid by the State of California) but, while some AFDC money doubtless flows into Skid Row, the program apparently is not a major income source to this atypical residential population. The purpose of the program is to provide cash grants to parents, and/or their children, whose family income is below the poverty line. As we have seen, only a small fraction of the Skid Row population (about 6%, according to the 1980 census) is comprised of children. Moreover, service providers in the area say that something on the order of 80% of these children are Hispanic, and that many are undocumented, which disqualifies them for benefits. (Only if the child of an undocumented resident is born in the United States is he or she [not the parents or other siblings] eligible for AFDC benefits.) Thus, AFDC does not appear to be a significant factor in the Skid Row economy.

⁵If an SSI applicant who is a General Relief beneficiary is accepted for SSI benefits, the County applies to the latter program for reimbursement of all of the GR benefits that it has paid to the applicant since his/her date of application. Thus, accepting a Skid Row GR recipient into SSI can be a considerably more expensive experience for Federal and State authorities than accepting someone who does not have the kind of history that a Skid Row resident is much more likely than average to have.

figures at the zip code level for the number of recipients of SSI only (as opposed to persons who received SSI but may also have received SS). Conversely, officials at national Social Security headquarters reported that, because of an only recently remedied snafu in attempts to collect SSI data at the zip code level, they had data on the number of SSI-only recipients in this zip code area during June 1986, but not for the previous year or any other year in the 1980s. Thus, it was possible to find data purporting to show how many SSI-only recipients there were in the area in June 1986, and how much their counterparts had received in SSI payments during June 1984, but there apparently are no zip code level data which match number of dollars to number of recipients for any recent month, nor is either type of information available for June 1985, the most recent period for which SS data are available.⁶

Because of these data gaps, it is impossible to construct more than a crude approximation of the volume of SSI funds flowing into Skid Row. This has been done by assuming that the flow of dollars in 1985 was the same as is reported by the regional office for the previous year. The number of recipients, on the other hand, is assumed to have been the same in 1985 as it is reported by national Social Security officials to have been in 1986. Since all available figures indicate that the number of SSI recipients in the area has been dropping gradually since 1979, whereas the number of dollars has most probably been increasing gradually during the same period, these assumptions do not appear unreasonable. Nevertheless, the reader is forewarned that they must be considered anything but exact.

Using these assumptions, it would appear that in June 1985 there were some 1,648 individuals in the zip code that most nearly captures the Skid Row area who received SS and/or SSI payments. Of this total, 1,214 individuals received regular SS payments. This figure tends to reinforce our estimate of total population (11-12,000) because it represents 10-11% of that estimate, which corresponds quite well to the share of the age structure (9.4% over 65) comprised of persons in their 60s or older, as recorded in the 1980 census (see Volume I, Table I-10).

The most striking aspect of this SS figure, however, is that it is very close to the number of SS recipients recorded in the Skid Row zip code six years earlier in 1979. Indeed, spot checks of this monthly figure during five different years during the period 1979-85 reveal that the number of SS recipients in this zip code has always fallen within the narrow range of 1,208-1,303 during that period.⁷ This fact tends to confirm the conclusion, discussed in Volume I, that the growth in the Skid Row population is concentrated in the younger age ranges, not in the older ones that only relatively recently dominated it. It appears that the number of residents who are old enough to qualify for SS has remained virtually static for at least the last seven years, while the total population has grown quite rapidly. This goes a long way toward explaining the major shift in service needs that providers report has taken place.

As to SSI recipients, the program recorded payments to 1,004 of them in the Skid Row zip code area in 1986, of whom 570 also received regular SS. The total number of SSI recipients in the area in 1986 was also reasonably close to the comparable figure for 1979, but about 13% lower.⁸ The bulk of this decrease was comprised of people who received

⁶Data on SS received in telephone interviews with Phillip Learner, Division of Statistics and Analysis, Social Security Administration, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Baltimore, Md. Data on SSI received in interviews with Sheryl Martin of the Los Angeles regional Social Security office and Arthur Cahn of the Baltimore headquarters. June-September 1986.

⁷The spot check figures are: June 1979: 1,299; June 1980: 1,251; June 1984: 1,303; December 1984: 1,208; June 1985: 1,214. Telephone interview with Phillip Learner, *Ibid.*

⁸The 1979 total was 1,159. Interview with Arthur Cahn, *op. cit.*

SSI only, rather than those who received both SS and SSI. There were 113, or 21%, fewer people receiving only SSI in 1986 than there were in 1979. This suggests that, while the aged component of the population remained reasonably static, the component comprised of people sufficiently disabled to qualify for SSI noticeably declined.⁹

Applying the SSI assumptions stated above and adding them to the somewhat more solid SS data, we conclude that total payments of both forms of Social Security benefits to Skid Row residents in 1985 came to about \$657,000 per month, or about \$7,864,000 for the full year. This total consisted of about \$5,340,000 in regular SS, and the rest (\$2,524,000) in SSI. These are the figures that we have used for the Social Security component of the composite estimate of minimum total flow of 1986 Federal entitlement funds into the area that is quoted above.

Direct Federal payments are also provided to Skid Row residents via veterans' pensions, though it appears that a relatively small proportion of qualified veterans are, in fact, receiving these benefits. In a 1984 survey of the single room occupancy (SRO) population in Skid Row, 7% of the respondents indicated that they were receiving such pensions,¹⁰ while a 1985 report stated that 40% of the Skid Row population were veterans.¹¹ The Veterans Administration cannot provide current estimates on the number of its pensioners in Skid Row, or the total dollar amounts that are flowing to them. The VA reports that too many of its checks were being sent to fiduciaries living in different areas of the City to permit any valid implication to be drawn from its address file, which is the only type of information that the agency has for pension recipients. Representatives of the VA did report, however, that there are many individuals in Skid Row who qualify for benefits but who have not applied for them.¹² The U.S. Department of Labor is scheduled in 1987 to begin a campaign in ten cities, including Los Angeles, to find homeless veterans, enroll them and also find treatment and rehabilitation programs for them.¹³

It is equally important to an understanding of the area economy to recognize that other, non-quantifiable benefit flows are also present. One of these is the Food Stamp program, which provides a maximum benefit of \$80 per month which can be spent only on food. Eligibility and benefit amounts are based on a complicated formula. People who are receiving SSI may not apply. The program is reportedly primarily utilized by General Relief recipients, many of whom use GR to pay for housing and Food Stamps to buy food.

Impressionistic evidence is inconsistent as to the extent to which Food Stamps are received and used in Skid Row. The officials in charge of the program believe that the Stamps are extensively used in the area, citing the fact that in June 1986 in the Civic Center area, which includes (but is larger than) Skid Row, stamps were distributed to 8,089 recipients, or about 1,250 more people than received General Relief in the same area. These officials believe that most people who qualify for the Stamps are in fact receiving and using them.¹⁴ On the other hand, social service providers in the area report seeing little

⁹ It should be noted that many believe that the official interpretation of the level of disability necessary to qualify for SSI was raised during this period, which could also account for some of the recorded decline in the number of SSI recipients in the area.

¹⁰ SRO Housing Corporation, "Survey of Residents of SRO Hotels," unpublished, 1984.

¹¹ Report of the Countywide Task Force on the Homeless, "Homeless in Los Angeles County," August, 1985. The Director of the VA clinic in Skid Row also believes 43% of Skid Row residents are veterans.

¹² Interview with Jack Ross, Assistant Director, Los Angeles Regional Office, Veterans Administration.

¹³ "VA Being Pressed to Aid Legions of Homeless Veterans," Los Angeles Times, March 3, 1987, p. 1,24. Of the 350,000 who are homeless in America on any one night, one-third are veterans, according to Federal researchers cited in this article.

¹⁴ Interview with Shirley Christensen, Special Assistant to the Director, Bureau of Special Operations, Department of Public Social Services, Los Angeles County, September 1986.

evidence of the use of Stamps by members of the populations they serve. For example, the person in charge of the mail room at one major mission, where about 600 area residents regularly receive their mail, reported that, whereas more than 150 of these individuals receive checks from the Social Security Administration each month, only 25-30 receive Food Stamps. Similarly, the Director of the Guest Program at the same mission said that "very few" of the people whom he has occasion to see are Food Stamp recipients.

We believe that the most plausible interpretation of this conflicting evidence is that the component of the Skid Row population that is usually resident in hotels probably makes reasonably full utilization of its rights to receive Food Stamps, while the component that is usually housed and fed in missions may not. This conclusion follows in part from the fact that Federal law does not permit shelter kitchens to receive Food Stamps in return for providing meals to people who are eligible to receive the Stamps. For this and perhaps other reasons, mission and shelter operators would have no cause to see any such Stamps that might be in the possession of their patrons. And, for residents who spend the great bulk of their time living and eating at shelters and missions, it may be plausibly assumed that there is less incentive for eligibles to collect the Stamps that they are qualified to receive. Nevertheless, in the case of the bulk of the population, particularly those who live most of the time in the area's hotel rooms, many of which are reported to contain hotplates, the probability that the Stamps are being duly applied for, received and used seems quite high. The available data will not, however, support an attempt to determine precisely how many Stamps are being distributed to area residents, or what dollar value this volume of distribution may represent.

FEDERAL/STATE/COUNTY PROGRAMS

The two other largest Federal/State funded entitlement programs active in the Skid Row area are MediCare and MediCal. Again, tracking either flow presents difficult technical problems. For MediCare, these begin with the fact that even at the Countywide level, there are no data available on dollar benefit payments for any date after July 1, 1983.¹⁵ Thus, although zip code data on the number of enrollees in MediCare are available for July 1, 1985, there is no financial information as to how much those enrollees received in benefits. Indeed, no zip code level information on MediCare dollars paid has been recorded or reported for any time period; this financial information is broken down only to the level of the County as a whole. Thus, a rough estimate of the likely current flow of MediCare into Skid Row must be indirectly constructed from dated zip code information on number of recipients, and Countywide information on the number of subsidy dollars paid.

In order to arrive at such an estimate, we have first "aged" the latest available information on total MediCare payments to recipients in Los Angeles County from June 1983 to June 1985 by assuming that the same rate of growth occurred in that total in those two years as occurred in the previous two-year period.¹⁶ This yields a Countywide 1985 MediCare receipt total of \$2,483,444,650 for the aged component of the beneficiary population, and \$363,177,968 for the disabled component. Available records indicate that

¹⁵This fact is reportedly one of the byproducts of the MediCare program's shift in 1983 to Diagnostic Related Groups (DRGs) as a basis for reimbursement. The reported effect on financial record keeping was that, beginning at that point in time, some elements of reimbursement were missing from the computerized records of the Federal agency tracking the program, so that accurate records of total reimbursements became infeasible until new computer systems were devised and accurate data collected. This is only now occurring. Interview with Karen Beebe, Program Analyst, Statistics and Information Services Branch, Health Care Finance Administration, Department of Health and Human Services, Baltimore, Md., September 1986.

¹⁶The growth between July 1, 1981 and July 1, 1983 was 25.9%.

in the Skid Row zip code on July 1, 1985 there were 1,022 aged MediCare enrollees¹⁷ and 184 disabled enrollees. Since there are no data available on dollar payments by zip code, it is unknown whether the average Skid Row enrollee receives more MediCare benefits than the Countywide average, though it seems reasonable to suppose so. For purposes of our calculations, however, we have assumed that the Skid Row average is equal to the Countywide average. If this is the case, and the "aging" of the Countywide payment total is reasonable, then Skid Row residents received a total of about \$3,300,000 in MediCare payments to aged enrollees in 1985, plus about \$900,000 in MediCare payments to disability enrollees. This suggests a total payment of MediCare benefits to area recipients of approximately \$4.2 million.

Turning to MediCal, the State Department of Health Services reports \$2.7 million¹⁸ will be spent in the Skid Row zip code area in FY86/87. The services financed by these dollars are received by low-income individuals 21 and under or 65 and older. Since January 1982 medically indigent people between the ages of 21 and 65 have been dropped from the MediCal program and transferred to the care of the County under its Medically Indigent Adult (MIA) program. The County MIA program is funded by a block grant from the State but any residual costs are absorbed by the County.

The most recent effort to estimate County costs for health care for the homeless, which takes into account both State-provided County MIA spending and the residual County contribution, is the Los Angeles County Department of Health Services' "Monthly Report on Hospital Services Provided to the Homeless."¹⁹ Based on March-August 1986 data, the University of Southern California Medical Center, the County hospital closest to Skid Row, will spend \$12 million²⁰ on health care for Skid Row people in FY86/87. This suggests a total payment of \$14.7 million in MediCal and County health care subsidies for the area. Adding in the aforementioned minimum estimate of \$4.2 million in MediCare costs paid in FY85, an estimated grand total of at least \$19 million seems likely to be spent on health care subsidized by these programs in Skid Row in FY86/87.

COUNTY PROGRAMS

California law imposes on every county the duty to "relieve and support all incompetent, poor, indigent persons, and those incapacitated by age, disease or accident."²¹ Thus, as a matter of law it is Los Angeles County which must assist the indigent on Skid Row to the extent that they are not adequately assisted through Federal or State welfare programs. The County's responsibilities include provision of emergency assistance to those in temporary need. The County meets these responsibilities primarily through its General

¹⁷ The stability of the number of aged MediCare enrollees in recent years further confirms that the elderly element of the Skid Row population has remained virtually constant. Throughout the years 1981-85, the total number of aged enrollees has always been within the narrow range of 1,007 and 1072.

¹⁸ MediCal payments in Los Angeles County for the first six months of CY86 averaged \$151.76 monthly per recipient. September 1985 is the most recent count for the average monthly number of MediCal recipients in zip code area 90013. At that time there were 1,349 recipients, a 9% increase over the September 1984 count. Assuming the same rate of growth between 1985 and 1986, FY86 MediCal costs for the Skid Row zip code area will total \$2.7 million. Source: Bill Maxfield, Research Analyst, Medical Care Statistics Unit, State Department of Health Services, Sacramento, California.

¹⁹ The County Department of Health Services defines "homeless" as: "Persons who lack shelter and the financial resources to obtain it, and whose regular night's residence is in streets, parks, subways, bus terminals, railroad stations, airports and other outdoor locations." Source: Jim McVeigh, Special Assistant, County of Los Angeles Department of Health Services.

²⁰ In making this estimate, we assumed that, based on discussions with USC Medical Center Social Work and Inpatient Services staff, 90% of the total (\$13.2 million) projected County costs for health care to the homeless at USC Medical Center will reflect services provided to people from the Skid Row area. "Hospital and Emergency Services Provided to the Homeless March-August, 1986," County of Los Angeles Department of Health Services.

²¹ Section 17000 of the Welfare and Institutions Code.

Relief (GR) program, as well as through other, smaller welfare programs administered by the County Department of Public Social Services (DPSS). For reasons set forth below, there is reason to believe that something on the order of one Skid Row resident in three is a GR recipient.²²

Because the County does not attribute GR spending figures by geographic sub-area, it is impossible to derive an estimate of the proportion of GR spending that involves Skid Row residents with any more than a very modest level of confidence. County officials responsible for the program state flatly that there is no way that they can even attempt any breakdown of the GR population by residence area. The only option open, short of large-scale original research that would be far beyond anything of the kind yet attempted in Los Angeles, is to use the rough estimates of people knowledgeable about the GR caseload to develop a divisor which permits very rough estimation of the general order of magnitude of annual GR spending that might with some reason be attributed to Skid Row residents. It is this that we attempt below.

In FY1985-86, Los Angeles County spent a total of \$112.7 million for Countywide General Relief. This amount financed benefits to a total caseload of 37,277 people, about two-thirds of whom are persons who live alone. Because of the very basic nature of this assistance and the commonly sustained neediness of the population that receives it, the GR recipient pool varies very little from month to month. In the most recent month, for example, total GR recipients numbered 36,845, or within about 1% of the same number as were served during the same month in the previous year. As a general rule, the DPSS office which is responsible for the Civic Center area, which includes Skid Row, handles about 7,000 cases per month, or about 19% of the total caseload in the County.²³

As already noted in the discussion of Food Stamps, the Civic Center area is much larger than just Skid Row,²⁴ but our interviews lead to the subjective but still plausible conclusion that on the order of half of the GR caseload of the Civic Center office consists of people who sleep or regularly obtain services in Skid Row. Since individual GR grants can differ in size, this does not necessarily mean that half of the GR payments made by that office go to Skid Row residents. However, nothing in our work suggests that recipients from Skid Row would fall below the average GR recipient in terms of size of grant. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that Skid Row residents receive no less than half of the GR funds expended by the Civic Center office. Here, however, the cost analyst encounters another barrier in the fact that the County reports that it records only the caseload by office, not the amounts of GR money paid to the recipients in the caseload of a given office. It cannot be learned, therefore, how much GR money the Civic Center office pays out each month.

Consequently, we are forced to base our estimate of the minimum flow of GR funds into Skid Row on Countywide payout figures. If it is correct that Skid Row contains at least half of the Civic Center area GR clients, or at least 3,500 individual cases, this would represent 9.5% of the total County GR caseload during the most recent month. Assuming further that Skid Row recipients receive at least the average payment made to all GR recipients, this would imply that a total of at least \$10,700,000 in GR grants flowed into the area during the most recent County fiscal year. Once again, the many approximations that the available data require in the course of calculating this estimate of minimum GR

²² In Los Angeles County as a whole, about one resident in 200 is a GR recipient.

²³ The other major districts in which there are major concentrations of GR recipients include: Metropolitan, with 6,000 recipients; Echo Park, with 3,500; Southwest, with 2,500; and Long Beach, with 2,200. The 17 other DPSS offices handle the remaining 16,077 cases.

²⁴ Its boundaries run from Hollywood to Sunset, Alvarado to Olympic, Olympic to San Pedro, San Pedro to Slauson, Slauson to Alameda, and Alameda to the Los Angeles River.

flow preclude any claim to precision. However, having taken pains to select the more conservative assumption at all key points of choice, we are reasonably confident that the actual figure is at least this large.

It is also an important feature of the economic structure of Skid Row that General Relief, unlike Food Stamps and some other welfare programs, is a cash benefit program, not one that limits the recipient's options with respect to the use that he/she makes of the resources provided. Restrictions on what can be purchased are only placed on the initial, temporary help that the program provides to homeless and/or hungry persons while their GR applications are being processed. Such a person receives two kinds of vouchers during this period, one type that is good for housing at a hotel and another that can be used in restaurants.²⁵ These vouchers are valid for a maximum of 14 days. Once the person has been approved for General Relief, he/she then receives a single check for the monthly benefit amount.²⁶ Therefore, the fact that the County's method of calculating the grant allocates part of it to housing and the rest of it to food does not necessarily affect the way that the recipient actually uses it. This, in turn, means that both the supply and the prices of particular commodities (e.g. housing, food, etc.) in Skid Row tend to be influenced by the total amount of the grant, not by any subceiling governing the part of it that can be used only for a particular type of purchase.

Nevertheless, the County computes GR grants in two portions: one for housing and utilities, and the other for food, personal needs and household upkeep. As of June 1985, for a single person the first portion of the grant was \$143 per month and the second was \$85, for a total of \$228 per month. For two-person households, the housing portion of the grant was \$210 per month, and the food/general upkeep portion was \$159, for a total of \$369 per month. In October, 1986 the maximum monthly grant for a single person rose to \$247, and the grant to a two-person household increased to \$477, with the portion of the grant that is associated with housing rising to \$150 and \$300 per month, respectively. In February 1987, the County approved, as settlement of a lawsuit, another increase in the maximum grant for an individual to \$280 as of July 1, 1987. This will increase to \$312 the following July 1. In the 1987 grant, housing is allotted \$175 and food and other necessities \$105 for one person; a two-person household will receive \$491.57, or \$300 for housing for two persons and \$191.57 for food and other needs. The 1988 amounts are \$312, of which \$200 will be for housing for a single person, and \$504.34 for a two-person household, of which \$300 continues to be for housing. Since, as we have noted, the average rent for a Skid Row hotel room is now \$200 per month, even the increased housing component to be provided to single people beginning in July, 1987 will not cover a full month's average rent, though the increased total grant would probably minimally support food and other necessities if what is purchased is supplemented with what is charitably supplied.²⁷ Since single member households dominate the Skid Row population, there is still little reason to believe that the "internal" transiency phenomenon in the area, which was described in Volume I, will diminish visibly in the foreseeable future.

The benefit increases that occurred in October 1986 were much less advantageous to the type of GR household that dominates the Skid Row population, as compared with other types of households that may characterize GR recipients in other areas of the County. The increase for single member households, which, as we have seen, make up virtually the entire population of Skid Row, was just over 8%, while the increase for two-member households was more than 29%. The rationale for this discrepancy reported by County

²⁵Unlike Federal Food Stamps, these vouchers can be accepted by the shelter kitchens.

²⁶There is an additional clothing allowance of \$50 that is paid every six months, and, if the recipient is employable, a modest transportation allowance is added.

²⁷Of course, the County is free to take into account in setting these benefit levels the fact that some free and subsidized goods and services are available to GR recipients from other public and private sources.

officials was that it will create a healthy incentive for GR recipients to share the available housing, while also more realistically reflecting the actual cost of maintaining a two-member household. Although there is no reason to believe that this change was specifically aimed at disadvantaging Skid Row residents relative to other GR recipients, it did in fact do so unless those that have the option elected to share their heretofore single room occupancy rooms with one or more of their co-residents of the area. However, the July increases righted this imbalance to some degree, granting a 13% increase to single individuals and a 3% increase to two-member households. Further, the 1988 changes are also scheduled to favor single people, involving 11% for singles and 2.5% for two-person households.

General Relief recipients are defined to be unemployable only if they obtain a statement from a physician indicating that they cannot work for reasons of mental or physical health. For those GR recipients who have no such medical certification, GR benefits are treated as loans to be repaid through work. The County gives each such recipient a work project each month, which is regulated in its time demands according to the amount of the benefits paid.²⁸ Employable recipients are also required to conduct a job search during each month that they receive benefits, and must show evidence each month of having spoken to at least 20 possible employers about a job. Such recipients are also required to report to work on time, and observe the other obligations characteristic of the workplace. If the very detailed regulations which state these requirements are not complied with, DPSS may impose -- and not infrequently has imposed²⁹ -- a penalty period of up to 60 days, during which time all County assistance is cut off. Since the GR program is ordinarily the last income maintenance recourse available to people who benefit from it, this is a formidable sanction. On the other hand, unlike standard unemployment programs, as long as a GR recipient complies with the regulations, and the recipient's financial situation does not change, there is no time limit on how long he/she can receive GR assistance.

Since General Relief is designed to be a last recourse, the County has several programs through which it tries to assist disabled Skid Row residents who receive GR to obtain SSI benefits, shifting the cost of these benefits to the Federal and State governments. These referrals are made pursuant to an agreement now in force between DPSS, the County Department of Mental Health, and the Federal Social Security Administration.

In addition to its income maintenance function, the County also operates a number of direct social service activities in the Skid Row area. Principally, it funds health care related to alcohol treatment at the Volunteers of America's facility in the Weingart Center. It also pays for outpatient medical services rendered at the Skid Row Mental Health Center, which is also located in the Weingart Center. These two activities are budgeted to cost the County a total of \$1,084,000 in FY1986-87, to which the State will add a 10% matching of the mental health expenditure, for a total government funding of \$1,092,328. The County also initially funds the distribution of Federal surplus food in the area (at a cost of about \$450,000 annually), but this cost is then reimbursed by the State.³⁰

²⁸The job assignments are often custodial or clerical duties in County offices, or cleanup work in County parks. Every employable GR recipient reportedly completes a form showing the number of hours worked during each reporting period. This form is regularly reviewed by the recipient's case worker.

²⁹In 1986, about 6.5% of the caseload or 425 people each month are "sanctioned" -- i.e., cut off -- for non-compliance. Although they are entitled to a hearing, very few appear for such proceedings, so that the issuance of a sanction is normally equal to its application.

³⁰These County activities are described in greater detail in the Report of the Countywide Task Force on the Homeless, "Homelessness in Los Angeles County," August 1985.

CITY PROGRAMS

While the County concentrates primarily on income maintenance programs, the City of Los Angeles provides the bulk of its help to the Skid Row area in the form of financial assistance to social service agencies that operate there. This comes primarily through the annual allocation of a portion of the City's Federal and State Block Grant funds to these agencies³¹ and through the capital and operating subsidies provided by the Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA).

In calendar 1986, total City allocation of Community Service and Community Development Block Grant funds for operating subsidies to Skid Row social service agencies came to \$241,000, which was provided in the form of grants to four agencies: Para Los Ninos (\$70,000), Indian Centers Inc.³² (\$66,000),³³ Inner City Law Center (\$57,750), and Volunteers of America (\$47,250). The corresponding total budgeted for operating subsidies for CY1987 is \$193,750, with the entire decrease reflecting the fact that Volunteers of America did not apply for a renewal of its grant, whereas each of the others successfully did so.³⁴ Allocations of City CDBG funds to capital purposes which benefit the Skid Row area vary greatly from year to year, but are clearly non-trivial. In FY1985-86, for example, about \$370,000 of such funds were spent on the park at Fifth and San Julian Streets. In FY1986-87, while \$3.5 million of these funds are budgeted for hotel rehabilitation in the Central Business District, \$1.5 million allocated to the South Park area and \$1 million to Spring Street, none of the unallocated \$1.5 million is likely to be spent within the Skid Row boundaries.³⁵

The CRA has long considered Skid Row development to be among its important goals. The Central Business District Redevelopment Plan sets forth specific objectives for the revitalization of "Central City East" (CCE). In formulating the CCE Plan, the Project Advisory Committee Chairman for the CCE area stated that "the highest priority shall be a comprehensive solution to the Skid Row problem. Skid Row is the key to a revitalized Central Business District and I ask all those who are a party to the Central Business District Redevelopment Project to reaffirm that basic premise".³⁶ Each year the CRA Board and City Council adopt an Annual Work Program identifying specific projects to be undertaken in Central City East. Most CRA expenditures to date have been for capital improvements and for the administrative costs of non-profit organizations, such as Skid Row Development Corporation and SRO Housing Corporation, which develop and implement projects that are consistent with CRA's general redevelopment objectives for the area. Since 1977, CRA capital spending in Skid Row has totaled about \$33 million.

In the past few years, CRA has also begun to provide some operating subsidies to certain Skid Row area social service programs. These subsidies have totaled about \$6 million since 1977. In the past, virtually all of these operating subsidies have been CRA contributions to the administrative costs of two agencies which concentrate in large part on improving capital improvements in the area, namely the Skid Row Development Corporation, and the

³¹These Block Grant funds come in two varieties. State pass-through Community Service Block Grant (CSBG) money is primarily designed to support social services for poverty level individuals, while Federal Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds are aimed mostly at housing and other capital purposes for low to moderate income individuals.

³²Indian Centers of Los Angeles recently filed for bankruptcy. The Centers' Housing Program continues to operate through the administration of a non-profit organization called Special Services for Groups. Special Services for Groups is located outside of Skid Row. The Indian Centers Housing Program moved to this location in September 1986.

³³This is the portion of this grant earmarked for the central city operations. The City-wide total grant was \$99,000.

³⁴Interview with Sue Claire Flores, Department of Community Development, City of Los Angeles, September 1986.

³⁵Interview with Nancy Sturgeon, Community Redevelopment Agency, City of Los Angeles, March, 1987.

³⁶Transmittal Letter, July 26, 1977, Harold L. Katz, speaking for the Citywide Citizens' Advisory Committee on the Central Business District Redevelopment Plan.

SRO Housing Corporation. These two agencies received a total of \$3,758,000 in this way during the period 1976-86 and are scheduled to receive a further \$1,025,000 in FY 1986-87. Beginning last year, CRA also began to bear the relocation costs of the out-placements of families from Skid Row that are accomplished by Las Familias Del Pueblo.

Finally, the largest single recipient of CRA operating subsidies is the Central Business District Homeless Shelter Trust Fund, which was formed last year and receives an annual CRA contribution of \$1.8 million, or 60% of the grand total that CRA plans to spend on administrative/operating subsidies during FY1986-87. This Trust Fund subsidizes the operations of shelters for the homeless which provide a total of 420 beds. Of these, 138 beds are at the Emergency Shelter, 242 are at the Weingart Center, and the remainder are at Transition House.

OVERVIEW OF SKID ROW SOCIAL SERVICES

The Skid Row social service world is currently in a process of change fully as basic as the change in the nature of the area's population. In the not very distant past, nearly two-thirds of the service agencies operating in Skid Row received all of their funding from private sources, and half received a significant portion from churches.³⁷ Services were provided largely by volunteers, and consisted mostly of food and shelter. The recipients were primarily adult, elderly men. Single room occupancy (SRO) rooms in hotels and shelters were available as basic housing; missions served the population in ways varying from religious counseling to emergency shelter and food; and the emergency room of the County hospital provided medical care, usually, but not always, in times of urgent need.

This service scene began changing slowly in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when alcoholism treatment programs began supplementing the work done previously by religiously-oriented organizations, and the Los Angeles Catholic Worker Community opened its soup kitchen. During the last six years, the rate of change has rapidly gained momentum. As recounted in Table II-3 below, since 1980, 18 new agencies or programs have been introduced into the area. Today, half (16) of the 34 agencies still receive the largest share of their funding from private sources, while half receive a majority of their funding from government sources.³⁸ Table II-4 below shows the current breakdown of private vs. public funding of Skid Row service agencies.

³⁷United Way Inc., Homelessness Shelter Survey and Report on Downtown Los Angeles, June, 1984, p. 11.

³⁸Information on funding sources is not available for the House of Ruth and the Downtown Women's Center.

TABLE II-3
AGENCY OR MAJOR PROGRAM DATES OF SERVICE INTRODUCTION

	<u>Date Founded(F)/ Incorporated (I)</u>	<u>Began Providing Service in Skid Row</u>
Union Rescue Mission	1881	1881
Midnight Mission	1906	1906
Traveler's Aid	1946	1946
Fred Jordan Mission	1947	1947
Los Angeles Mission	1949	1949
Emmanuel Baptist Rescue Mission	1953	1953
St. Vincent de Paul Men's Center	N/A	1955
Office of Alcohol Programs	1973	1968
Metropolitan Community Church	1968	1968
Catholic Worker Community	1970	1970
Indian Centers, Inc.	1971	1971
VOA (Alcoholism Program)	1940	1974
People in Progress	1974	1974
Salvation Army - Harbor Light	1921	1975
United American Indian Involvement	1975	1975
Asian Rehabilitation Services	1972	1977
House Of Ruth	1978	1978
Skid Row Development Corp.	1978	1978
Downtown Women's Center	1978	1978
Skid Row Mental Health Clinic	1984	1980
Inner City Law Center	1980	1980
Mental Health Advocacy Services	1979	1980
Ballington Plaza (VOA)	1914	1981
Para Los Ninos	1979	1981
Las Familias del Pueblo	1981	1982
Angel's Flight	1982	1982
Transition House (SRDC)	1978	1983
VA Outreach Program	1979	1984
Weingart Center Association	N/A	1984
Weingart Medical Clinic	1983	1984
UCLA School of Nursing Medical School	1891	1984
Women's and Couples' Shelter (VOA)	1984	1984
Chrysalis Center	1984	1984
Project Return	1980	1985
SRO Housing Corporation	1984	1985
LA Men's Place (LAMP)	1985	1985
San Pedro Emergency Shelter	1978	1985

TABLE II-4
FUNDING SOURCES FOR SKID ROW AREA SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES^a

Primarily Private Funding

<u>Agency</u>	<u>% of Total Budget</u>
1. Angel's Flight	100%
2. Catholic Worker Community	100
3. Chrysalis Center	100
4. Emmanuel Baptist Rescue Mission	100
5. Fred Jordan Mission/American Soul Clinic	100
6. Los Angeles Men's Place	100
7. Los Angeles Mission	100
8. Mental Health Advocacy Services	100
9. Metropolitan Community Church	100
10. Midnight Mission	100
11. Para Los Ninos	55
12. Salvation Army	81
13. St. Vincent de Paul Society	100
14. Traveler's Aid Society of Los Angeles	68
15. Union Rescue Mission	100
16. UCLA School of Nursing/ Union Rescue Mission	62

Primarily Public Funding

<u>Agency</u>	<u>% of Total Budget</u>
1. Asian Rehabilitation Services	50%
2. Indian Centers, Inc.	100
3. Inner City Law Center	84
4. Las Familias del Pueblo	87
5. Office of Alcohol Programs	100
6. People in Progress	86
7. Project Return	100
8. San Pedro Emergency Shelter	100
9. Skid Row Mental Health Clinic	100
10. SRO Housing Corporation	80
11. Transition House (SRDC)	70
12. United American Indian Involvement	100
13. Veterans Administration Outreach Clinic	100
14. Volunteers of America	80
15. Weingart Center Association	78
16. Weingart Medical Clinic	100

^aNo information is available from the House of Ruth or the Downtown Women's Center.

THE SERVICES PROVIDED

According to their own descriptions of their work, Skid Row area agencies provide about 30 different types of services. The most common one is the provision of food.

Twenty-six of the programs³⁹ mounted by these agencies listed "food" as their primary service, and four listed it as their major secondary service. "Socialization" was listed as a primary service by 19 programs, and 10 programs considered it secondary. "Referral" was mentioned by 25 different programs, while "religious education" and "clothing" were identified by 15 programs as either primary or secondary services. Table II-5 summarizes these responses.

HOURS OF AVAILABILITY

Most Skid Row services are not available on a 24-hour basis, but a substantial minority do maintain around-the-clock operations. One-third of the programs (19) reported that they are open 24 hours per day, seven days a week. Another five are open 12 hours a day, five days a week. Twenty-three are open only during regular business hours during a five-day week, while nine are open eight hours a day, seven days a week. Overall, 32 (52%) of the programs stay open seven days a week.

LANGUAGE CAPABILITIES

The fact that Skid Row social service programs are capable of providing significant language services is reflected in the report that only 13 (21%) of the programs are restricted to serving English-speaking clients only, while 44 (72%) of them say that they can also serve Spanish-speaking clients. Ten (16%) of the programs report having staff members who speak languages in addition to English and Spanish.

PROMPTNESS OF ACCESS

More than half (34 of the 61 programs) report that they do not make clients wait for services, while 10 say that they must ask clients to wait several hours for service. And, 15 programs that provide long-term shelter require waiting periods of more than one day.

FREQUENCY OF USE

Thirty-six (59%) of the programs allow clients to use services as often as necessary, with no restrictions. Five only allow an individual client to use the service once a day, and four restrict clients to one use per week. A few other programs have other types of usage restrictions, e.g., one program allows four days of service in every 18 days of elapsed time.

³⁹The reader is reminded that a "program" is self-defined by the reporting agency. Many agencies reported operating only a single program, but some reported running several. This information, reported in the Table that follows, and much of the data reported in the subsequent text, are compiled in terms of the 61 separate programs that were reported by the 34 agencies.

TABLE II-5
SUMMARY OF SERVICES PROVIDED BY SKID ROW
AREA SOCIAL SERVICE PROGRAMS

Type of Service Activity	Primary Service	Secondary Service	Total Programs
Food	26	4	30
"Socialization" ^a	20	10	30
Religious Education	12	3	15
Clothing	11	4	15
Mental Health	10	2	12
Intermediate Term Housing	10	0	10
Emergency Shelter	9	2	11
Referral	7	18	25
Day Care	7	2	9
Education	6	5	11
Personal Hygiene	6	4	10
Employment Training	6	4	10
Health Services	6	0	6
Children's Day Care	4	1	5
Advocacy	4	4	8
Financial Aid	4	0	4
Legal Assistance	3	1	4
Permanent Housing	3	0	3
Recreation	2	7	9
"Coping Support" ^b	2	3	5
Housing Relocation	2	1	3
Transportation	1	9	10
Medical Referral	1	3	4
Emergency Rent	1	0	1
Money/Record Management	0	5	5
Mail Pick-Up/Telephone	0	5	5
Drug Abuse	0	0	0

^aSocialization is defined as learning social norms or reacculturation.

^bCoping support is psycho-social, including peer counseling.

USER CHARGES

Most Skid Row programs (43 of 61 programs, or 70%) require no payment from their clients. Of the remaining programs, most use fee schedules based on "ability to pay" or a "sliding scale."

POPULATIONS SERVED

Because many Skid Row residents receive several forms of social service from area providers, and a non-trivial number of non-Skid Row residents take their meals at Skid Row service agencies, some degree of multiple counting of the same individual is inevitable in any attempt to sort out either the total number of individuals in the service population, or the component of that population that is composed only of Skid Row residents. The best that can be done using the data available is to estimate the size of each of two main elements of the service population: the element that receives some social service other than (and often in addition to) food, and the element that receives only food from the agencies that serve meals. It must be carefully noted that this does not completely avoid redundancy either within or between the two populations identified. The same person can, for example, receive counseling from one agency, legal services from another, and shelter from a third, all during the course of a single week. Similarly, it is possible (though not usual) for a person to eat one meal at the facility of one agency, the other two meals at another, while spending the night at the sleeping facility of a third. Eliminating these remaining redundancies would require new and quite expensive research which would only essentially duplicate much of the work of the census. Accordingly, the figures presented in this section should be understood to include an unknown quantum of double counting of individuals, and should be used primarily as indicators of the individual service populations of each agency, not the total service population of the area.

As already reported in Volume I (Table I-4), the 34 social service agencies on Skid Row report that the number of different individuals to whom each agency provides social services other than food during each week adds to a total of 8,700 people. Table II-6 below adds service provider estimates of the number of individuals to whom these agencies serve one or more meals, but no other form of service, in the course of a day. This food-only population totals just under 4,100 per day. If there were no redundancy in these figures, one would conclude that the total service population of the area is almost 13,000 in any week, which, even allowing for some admixture of non-residents using the area's charitable eating facilities, would imply a larger resident Skid Row population than we estimate because there is some number of residents who receive none of these services. However, in view of the fact that some substantial redundancy does in fact remain, we believe that these service population estimates are roughly in line with estimates of the number of resident individuals derived from other data sources.

Because many agencies do not serve meals, the daily food provision figures in Table II-6 apply only to the minority which do. Only about half of the meal providers who were interviewed made estimates of the number of different individuals that their programs feed daily. For those who provided no such estimates, the daily figure is projected from their weekly estimates, a calculation which takes into account the fact that not all of them serve all three daily meals, or serve meals seven days a week. Although, as noted above, there is at least some redundancy between the food-only population and the more general service population shown in the left-hand column of the Table, it is reasonable to assume that this double counting is quite limited. If this assumption is correct, and if the use of Food Stamps and hotel room hotplates is as general as has been earlier reported, the

TABLE II-6
**SUMMARY ESTIMATES OF NUMBERS OF PEOPLE SERVED,
SOCIAL SERVICE POPULATION AND FOOD-ONLY POPULATION^a**

	<u>Different Recipients of Social Services Per Week^b</u>	<u>Different People Served Only Food/Day^c</u>
Angel's Flight	26	---
Asian Rehabilitation Services	2	---
Catholic Worker Community	112	750
Chrysalis	260	---
Downtown Women's Center	108	---
Emmanuel Baptist Rescue Mission	65	135
Fred Jordan Mission/American Soul Clinic	235	390
House of Ruth	6	---
Indian Centers, Inc.	---	---
Inner City Law Center	100	---
Las Familias del Pueblo	130	---
L.A. Men's Place	70	80
L.A. Mission	370	200
Mental Health Advocacy Services	40	---
Metropolitan Community Church	65	50
Midnight Mission	280	380
Para Los Ninos	600	---
People in Progress	250	---
Project Return	10	---
Salvation Army (Harbor Lt.)	400	700
San Pedro Emergency Shelter	966	---
Skid Row Mental Health	240	---
St. Vincent de Paul	400	350
Transition House	130	---
Traveler's Aid	125	---
UCLA School of Nursing	200	---
Union Rescue Mission	740	1,000
United American Indian	52	50
VA Clinic (health services)	63	---
Volunteers of America	1,646	---
Weingart Center	600	---
Weingart Medical Center	400	---
Total	8,691	4,085

^aTwo agencies, the Office of Alcohol Programs and the SRO Housing Corporation, are not included in this listing because they are not direct social service providers. The Office of Alcohol Programs serves as a broker for the distribution of funds to other agencies and SRO Housing Corporation primarily provides shelter for the area's population.

^bThese figures exclude individuals who receive food only, but include those who receive food in addition to some other form of service.

^cThese figures include only those who receive food but no other service.

food-only numbers reported would appear to support the lore in the area that a large number of non-resident low-income people come into Skid Row daily to eat, and then return to their places of residence outside Skid Row at night. This, in turn, suggests that in Skid Row, as in the rest of downtown, there is a difference between daytime and nighttime populations.

Almost all service providers in Skid Row attempt to focus their energies and resources on particular target groups in the population. More than half (35 of 61) of the programs report that they target services to men. The rest (26) report that women also receive their services. However, women generally constitute a minority in programs which serve them. One-third of the programs (19) have families as a service target, and another 25% (15) include children within their service orientations. About 38% (23) of the programs target veterans. In addition, 17 target the physically disabled, 18 target the mentally disabled, and 21 target drug addicts. 40% of the programs target seniors (24) and almost half target welfare recipients (30).

Thirteen of the programs (21%) report that more than half of their services are delivered to alcoholics. In contrast, only four deliver more than half their services to the mentally disabled, and only one delivers more than half of its services to drug addicts.

Information about repeat utilization of program services is consistent with the prevailing view that most clients of Skid Row social service agencies tend to be regulars. Almost two-thirds of the agencies report that more than half of the people they serve regularly use their services and presumably others offered by Skid Row providers. To be specific, 15 of the 34 agencies reported that more than 70% of their clients are regular users, while, conversely, two-thirds (22) reported that fewer than 30% of their clients are one-time users. It also appears that most regular users of services follow quite continuous use patterns, as evidenced by the fact that more than half of the agencies (20) said that fewer than 20% of their clients use their services only intermittently.

Although the fact of targeting is unchanged, two agencies in five report that they are shifting focus as the composition of the Skid Row population changes. Fourteen agencies responded that they have significantly changed target populations in recent years. Even if there has been no change yet, most agencies (26) said that they either planned to add new types of clientele or would like to provide additional lines of service in future years. A bit more than half (19) of the agencies expected future expansion of physical facilities, and 10 anticipated a move to another service location within Skid Row. The prevalence of an atmosphere of change was decisively reflected in the fact that only two of the 34 agencies responded that they expected no change of any type in their services, target populations, or facilities.

The breadth of geographic focus of the agencies that operate in Skid Row varies, though most of them draw their clients predominantly either from Skid Row or from the rest of the downtown Los Angeles area. About one-third of the service providers consider their service area to be the Skid Row area exclusively. Another one-third include all of downtown Los Angeles within their purview. The final one-third serve all of Los Angeles County. Only two of the agencies active in Skid Row also serve clients outside Los Angeles County.

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS

A majority of the agencies that provide social services to the Skid Row population are independent, non-profit organizations which are not part of a local or national network of similar agencies. Fifteen of the 34 agencies (44%) describe themselves as "free-standing" organizations. Seven describe themselves as "parent" organizations, while seven others consider themselves "subsidiaries." Three agencies say that they operate as "branches" of a parent organization. Eighty percent of the agencies (27 of 34) are private in nature, while seven are government agencies. As we have seen, however, many private agencies depend partially or entirely on public funds.

FACILITIES

The physical facilities of Skid Row social service providers tend to be either very large multi-story complexes, such as the Weingart Center and the Salvation Army (Harbor Light) installations, or quite small storefront operations, such as Chrysalis and L.A. Men's Place. Four agencies report that they utilize more than 70,000 square feet, and another uses between 55,000 and 60,000 square feet. But 13 agencies (or 54% of all agencies) use less than 5,000 square feet of space each.⁴⁰ Table II-7 shows the size of each and also which have special facilities such as overnight beds, day beds, a kitchen or a dining room.

Seven Skid Row social service agencies own the buildings they occupy outright. One is in the process of purchasing its facilities, and pays between \$60,000 and \$70,000 in annual debt service. Thirteen agencies reported that they rent space, but for three of these, rent is set at zero at present. Only one of the remaining 10 pays more than \$40,000 per year in rent. The rents paid by the rest are evenly distributed throughout a reported range of \$5,000-40,000 per year. Thirteen agencies provided no information on this topic.

Two-thirds of the agencies (22) report that their physical facilities are regularly overused. Only five say that their facilities are large enough to serve a larger population than they are currently serving.

Thirty-two agencies report that their facilities are within one or two blocks of public transportation. Twelve indicate that private transportation is available when necessary.

Twenty-six of the agencies consider their services tied to their location in Skid Row. Twenty-three say that if they were to move from their present location, agency staff anticipate that there would be a decline in the utilization of their programs.

Almost half of the 61 programs noted difficulties in access for the physically handicapped. Many of the programs are located on second or higher floors in buildings that have no elevators to transport the disabled. Many of the programs would like to be able to serve the handicapped population, but access problems make this difficult or impossible for many.

⁴⁰ Data on square footage utilization are not available for seven of the agencies.

TABLE II-7
SOCIAL SERVICE FACILITIES

	<u>Square Footage</u>	<u>Overnight Beds</u>	<u>Day Beds</u>	<u>Kitchen</u>	<u>Dinning Room</u>
Weingart Center	80,640	492	---	---	1
Salvation Army (Harbor Light)	72,000	230	---	---	2
Union Rescue Mission	58,300	202	---	---	1
Downtown Women's Center	30,000	48	4	2	1
Skid Row Development Corp. (Transition and San Pedro)	30,000	268	4	2	1
St. Vincent de Paul Men's Center	17,000	---	63	---	1
Los Angeles Mission	15,000	70	--	1	1
United American Indian	6,000	---	12	---	1
Traveler's Aid	5,800	4	---	---	---
Angel's Flight	4,000	---	3	1	---
Skid Row Mental Health	3,500	---	---	1	---
Weingart Medical Clinic	3,500	---	---	---	---
Chrysalis	3,300	---	---	---	---
Los Angeles Men's Place	3,000	---	---	1	1
Las Familias del Pueblo	2,600	---	---	---	---
UCLA School of Nursing (Health Clinic)	430	---	---	---	---
Asian Rehabilitation Services	N/A	---	---	---	---
Catholic Worker Community	N/A	32	20	---	3
Emmanuel Baptist Rescue Mission	N/A	65	---	---	1
Fred Jordan Mission/ American Soul Clinic	N/A	200	--	1	1
House of Ruth	N/A	---	---	---	---
Midnight Mission	N/A	138	---	---	---
Volunteers of America	N/A	345	---	2	2
Total	335,070	2,094	102	9	19

STAFFING

Most of the social service agencies in Skid Row are not large, though a few are quite sizeable. Eighteen agencies reported employing fewer than 25 people, while seven employ between 25 and 50. Only seven reported more than 50 employees. In total, almost 1,000 paid, full-time equivalent (FTE)⁴¹ personnel are reportedly involved in providing the social services of the responding agencies on a day-to-day basis (see Table II-8). Because the bulk of the services provided do not involve direct payments to clients, and because some of the food, clothing and other commodities distributed are donated or provided at reduced cost, most of the agencies reported that more than half of their budgets consisted of personnel costs.

Most staff members in these agencies are generalists. Relatively few have professional degrees in such traditional social service professions as social work or counseling. Even fewer have medical degrees. Many of the agencies rely heavily on volunteers, including members of the organization's board of directors, to provide professional services. Data reported by 20 agencies indicate that, in those organizations alone, volunteers comprise the equivalent of at least 84 additional full-time staff positions. In addition, these agencies reported the work of some 345 volunteers whose hours could not be converted to full-time equivalence (see Table II-9).

BUDGETS

As reported earlier in this Volume, available agency budget figures indicate that, exclusive of volunteer time and donated food, clothing and other materials, something on the order of \$15 million per year is now being spent by private, non-profit social service agencies to provide services in the Skid Row area. Table II-10 below shows the portions of the budgets of the reporting agencies that can reasonably be apportioned to their operations in and for Skid Row.⁴²

As the Table makes clear, total Skid Row-related expenditures by these agencies are concentrated heavily in a relatively small minority of them. The four largest agencies account for about half of all spending, and the 10 agencies which spend \$500,000 or more per year account for about four-fifths of all spending.

REFERRAL NETWORKS

There is considerable referral activity among service providers in the Skid Row area. Twenty-six of the 34 agencies reported that they refer clients to at least one other Skid Row social service agency. Thirteen said that they refer clients to three or more Skid Row agencies. On the other hand, nine did not identify any Skid Row agencies to whom they refer clients. Of these, three refer only to agencies outside of Skid Row, and two stated that they do not ever refer clients to others.

Agencies were also asked from whom they receive referrals. Thirty-two of the 34 agencies reported receiving referrals from at least one other Skid Row agency, and half the agencies said that they get referrals from three or more other Skid Row agencies.

⁴¹Note that where part-time personnel are involved, more than one individual can be required to fill one FTE position.

⁴²As previously noted, the budget for one agency, the Fred Jordan Mission, was not volunteered and, because of the religious nature of the organization, could not be secured from the Registry of Charitable Trusts. Therefore, an unknown volume of expenditures is missing from this review.

TABLE II-8
AGENCY PAID STAFF RESOURCES^a
(in FTE)

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Total Staff</u>
Salvation Army	134.0
Union Rescue Mission	113.0
Indian Centers, Inc.	100.0
Para Los Ninos	89.0
Weingart Center	70.0
Office of Alcohol Programs	70.0
Volunteers of America	67.5
Skid Row Development Corporation (Transition House, San Pedro, other)	40.0
Midnight Mission	40.0
People in Progress	37.5
Fred Jordan Mission/American Soul Clinic	35.0
Asian Rehabilitation Services	28.0
Skid Row Mental Health	26.0
Traveler's Aid	23.0
UCLA School of Nursing (Health Clinic)	14.0
Los Angeles Mission	14.0
Catholic Worker Community	12.0
Angel's Flight	12.0
St. Vincent de Paul	10.0
Weingart Medical Clinic	9.0
United American Indian	8.0
Mental Health Advocacy Services	7.5
Inner City Law	7.5
Downtown Women's Center	5.5
Chrysalis	5.0
Los Angeles Men's Place	4.0
Veterans Administration Clinic	3.3
House of Ruth	3.0
Las Familias del Pueblo	2.5
Metropolitan Community Church	2.0
Emmanuel Baptist Mission	2.0
Project Return	2.0
 Total	 996.3

^aSRO Housing Corporation did not respond to staffing questions.

TABLE II-9
VOLUNTEER ASSISTANCE^a

	<u>Volunteers</u>
Salvation Army	126.0 ^a
Catholic Worker Community	100.0 ^a
Chrysalis	50.0 ^a
People in Progress	40.0 ^a
Traveler's Aid	30.0
St. Vincent de Paul	23.0
Para Los Ninos	22.0 ^a
Weingart Center	9.0
Union Rescue Mission	5.9
Mental Health Advocacy Services	3.0 ^a
Asian Rehabilitation Services	3.0
UCLA School of Nursing (Health Clinic)	2.6
Inner City Law	2.5
Project Return	2.0 ^a
House of Ruth	2.0 ^a
Angel's Flight	1.8
Downtown Women's Center	1.6
Metropolitan Community Church	1.5
Volunteers of America	1.5
Los Angeles Men's Place	1.2
Las Familias del Pueblo	0.5
Total	84.1 FTE +345 Volunteers ^a

^aThe responses followed by asterisks denote individual persons. Responses without asterisks were made in terms of FTE. Fourteen agencies did not respond at all to this question.

TABLE II-10
PORTIONS OF AGENCY EXPENDITURE BUDGETS
ATTRIBUTABLE TO SKID ROW OPERATIONS
(Figures for budget year 1985 or 1986)^a

<u>Agency</u>	<u>Total Budget</u>	<u>Agency</u>	<u>Total Budget</u>
Weingart Center	\$2,903,641 ^b	L.A. Men's Place	135,000
Volunteers of America	1,875,128	Inner City Law	120,000
Union Rescue Mission	1,449,262	Chrysalis	113,698
Salvation Army (Harbor Light)	1,300,000	Metropolitan Community Church	111,910 ^f
Midnight Mission	900,000	Emmanuel Baptist Mission	100,000
Para Los Ninos	877,000	Catholic Worker Community	100,000
Skid Row Mental Health	757,680	VA Outreach Clinic	85,000
L.A. Mission	678,400	House of Ruth	77,708
San Pedro Emergency Shelter (SRDC)	550,000 ^c	Downtown Women's Center	72,000 ^g
Transition House (SRDC)	535,303	Asian Rehabilitation Services	22,400 ^h
Traveler's Aid	465,600 ^d	Project Return	8,750 ⁱ
UCLA School of Nursing	340,000	Indian Centers, Inc.	---
Weingart Medical Clinic	296,977	Office of Alcohol Programs	---
People in Progress	264,491	SRO Housing Corporation	---
Mental Health Advocacy Services	247,000	Fred Jordan Mission	N/A
St. Vincent de Paul	225,000		
Las Familias del Pueblo	190,000		
Angel's Flight	150,000 ^e		
United American Indian Involvement	140,000	Total	\$15,091,948

^aAgency fiscal years differ, as do their respective capacities to produce budgetary information for the most recent past year. Thus, these figures represent an amalgam of various 12-month periods during 1985-86, and should not be read as perfectly consistent from a technical standpoint.

^bThis figure represents the Center's operating costs for all of the Weingart Association's programs, for general administrative expenses, and for the expense of providing space to VOA, Skid Row Mental Health, and VA Outreach.

^cAnticipated operating budget for FY87.

^dThis represents 60% of the total operating budget of this agency, which corresponds to the share of its activities that it attributes to Skid Row.

^eThis represents one-fourth of the agency's total budget, which is the portion attributed to Skid Row operations, as against the agency's programs in Hollywood and its Mobile Crisis Center.

^fThis is a 12-month budget projection based on \$102,585 for operating costs for 11 months. This agency has sold its building and will eventually be moving out of Skid Row. The building will be converted to retail space.

^gThis is a 1985 figure, which does not include funds for support of the new residential facility which the Center has opened in 1986, and which is described in a later section of this Chapter.

^hThis represents 2% of this agency's most recent budget, which corresponds to the share of its operations that it estimates involve Skid Row.

ⁱThis represents one-fourth of the agency's total operating budget, which corresponds to the portion of its operations estimated to be spent in Skid Row.

^jSince the drafting of this report, Indian Centers Inc. of Los Angeles has gone out of business. Formerly, Indian Centers Inc. most recent budget includes expenditures totalling \$3,069,317.

^kNo budget figure for this Office is reported in this Table because it is not a direct social service provider but a broker for government funds allocated to alcoholism programs throughout the County. Administrative costs for the Office totalled \$4,746,793 in the most recent year for which data are available.

^lNo budget is reported here because this organization is primarily a shelter provider rather than a direct social service provider. The Corporation's total operating budget for all programs in the most recent year was \$779,277.

The County Department of Public Social Services (DPSS) was reported as both the most frequent target of referrals and the most prolific referrer of individuals to other agencies. With respect to frequency of receipt of referrals, DPSS was identified by 14 agencies; the Skid Row Mental Health Clinic by 10; individual named missions by eight; and the San Pedro Emergency Shelter, the Weingart Center, and LA County/USC Medical Center by five each.

As to the initiation of referrals to other agencies, DPSS was reported as a source by 17 agencies; the Los Angeles Police Department by 10; various named missions by eight; Traveler's Aid and Volunteers of America by seven; the Skid Row Mental Health Clinic by six; and Catholic Workers, the Salvation Army, and Transition House by five each.

While these figures demonstrate that there is a good deal of cross-referral among many Skid Row agencies, there appears to be very little in the way of formal cooperative arrangements. The only clear-cut exception is the Homeless Outreach Demonstration Project, which involves DPSS, Skid Row Mental Health, and the Social Security Administration. These agencies have joined forces in a concerted effort to overcome the difficulty that indigent mentally ill persons experience in entering the public assistance system.

A SNAPSHOT OF THE SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES BY TYPE OF SERVICE

The 34 agencies are arrayed below according to their self-reported main area of service offering. Eight types of agencies can be defined on the basis of these responses:

- (1) Alcoholism agencies.
- (2) Legal aid providers.
- (3) Mental health service providers.
- (4) Medical service providers.
- (5) Providers of child and family services.
- (6) Adult day care agencies.
- (7) Providers of rehabilitation services.
- (8) Multi-service organizations.

An overview of service offerings in each category is presented below, focusing on the primary cluster of agencies that make that service the main focus of their activities. For each of the categories of services, an attempt has been made to depict the general current status of the subject social service by presenting an overview of that service area and then describing the central agencies offering related services. Seven agencies that dispense equally vital services are not included in this discussion because, although many of them provide ancillary services, their primary activity is provision of food and shelter. Therefore, they are treated in detail in Volume III, rather than in this Volume.

An extensive but ultimately unsuccessful attempt was made in the course of this study to allocate aggregate agency expenditures among these eight categories of activity in order to reveal the implicit pattern of social service investment that is represented by the combined spending of all of the agencies. However, this proved to be impossible in the absence of a new, large-scale effort to construct a program budget for each major agency. As is evident from the list of designated programs reported earlier, some agencies break their activities into a number of individualized programs, whereas others lump together all or most of their activities into a single, budgetarily undifferentiated operation. Where an agency identifies several separate programs, they may be organized according to the age, ethnicity, or other personal characteristics of the programs, respective target populations, or according to the type of service provided, or according to some of both. Despite a strenuous effort to reconcile these differences by devising ways to make cross-cutting allocations of agency spending according to categories sufficiently consistent to give these allocations some genuine meaning, it was discovered that the existing financial data simply will not support such allocations. Cross-cutting allocation of social service spending by either target population or program activity category cannot be accomplished through any procedure short of a ground-up, agency-by-agency, program-by-program, analysis and recasting of existing line item budgets into consistent program budget terms - a procedure far beyond the mandate and resources of the present one.

Accordingly, the program area treatments which follow provide an overview of each area and a brief narrative snapshot of the agencies which report each area as their principal field of operation. The reader is cautioned not to infer, however, that, particularly in instances where an agency provides a number of types of services that include food and shelter, the explicit or implicit allocation of these services to a program area (e.g., to alcoholism as against rehabilitation) represents a rigorous or necessarily internally consistent classification across agencies. Similarly, the information presented provides no basis for any judgment of the relative efficiency of the various agency operations that are active in any particular field. Some agencies involved in each field are doing some quite similar things, others are doing things that are unique in at least some ways, and all conduct a singular mix of standard and unique activities. It follows that cross-cutting unit cost factors have little meaning until these distinguishing characteristics are sorted out through construction of an overall program budget framework.

For detailed agency and program descriptions, the reader is invited to review the inventory which appears in the Appendix. The following summary treatment provides only brief descriptions.

ALCOHOLISM SERVICES

*Office of Alcohol Programs
People in Progress
Salvation Army (Harbor Light)
Union Rescue Mission
United American Indian Involvement
Volunteers of America*

Overview

Alcoholism is the social problem traditionally associated with the Skid Row area. But the treatment of alcoholics in the area has changed radically in recent years, both because of legal developments and changes in treatment philosophy. For many years the typical cycle for homeless alcoholics in Skid Row was police arrest, transport to jail to sober up,

and then release. The procedure was viewed by reformers, as well as by many police officers and other public officials, as both inappropriate and unduly expensive.

In 1968, in the case of Powell v. Texas, the United States Supreme Court examined the question whether the arresting and jailing of a public inebriate represented cruel and unusual punishment within the meaning of the prohibition in the Constitution of the United States. Though the Court did not prohibit the jailing of public inebriates, the case spurred the medical profession to look more seriously at the treatment of alcoholism as a disease, which resulted in guidelines for a "medical model" of treatment. Under this model, an inebriate is hospitalized for detoxification and receives medical care during withdrawal from alcohol addiction.

In 1978, in Sundance v. Municipal Court of Los Angeles, a Los Angeles public interest law firm, the Center for Law in the Public Interest, demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Superior Court that using the jails as flophouses for public inebriates was medically dangerous and excessively costly for the purposes achieved. In response, the Court prohibited the treatment of alcoholics as criminals, and required that jail facilities meet a standard appropriate for proper care of the inebriate during detoxification.⁴³ Recent changes in the California Penal Code also make it more difficult to arrest and take into custody public inebriates.⁴⁴ Despite these changes in the law, however, a recent report concluded that, even for those inebriates who do meet the legal standards justifying arrest, in the Spring of 1986 there were only 39 beds in the Central Area jail which met the Sundance requirements.⁴⁵

As a consequence of these legal changes, arrests for simple drunkenness in Skid Row have become very much less frequent, having declined in number by more than 98% between 1977 and 1984.⁴⁶ On the other hand, whether causally related or not, Fire Department rescue ambulance responses to emergencies involving inebriates have reportedly increased sharply in the Skid Row area, with parallel increases in incidents reported as falling into the category of assault and fighting, and injuries associated with such incidents.⁴⁷

Instead of taking inebriates to jail, the police now transport them to detox centers (where they cannot be forced to stay). Alternatively, inebriates are picked up by a private "Boozer Cruiser", a service operated by People in Progress (PIP) since 1975, which is designed to provide a humane alternative to police intervention and/or incarceration, while also offering the opportunity for inebriates to enter into a recovery process. The unit operates a single vehicle, which cruises the Skid Row area six days a week offering voluntary transportation for inebriates to the Volunteers of America Sobering Station.

As an alternative to the expense implied by a medical model of detoxification, a less expensive "social model" has been developed which is designed to achieve detoxification

⁴³The trial court required individual medical screening of each arrestee, monitoring of those who were unconscious or in withdrawal in holding tanks by a medically trained person, satisfaction of the nutritional requirements of arrestees, rest facilities for each arrestee, a limit on the time that an arrestee could be confined in certain tanks, a limit on the number of arrestees who could be held in a single tank, and blood alcohol tests for arrestees who requested them. Sundance v. Los Angeles Municipal currently on appeal.

⁴⁴Specifically, Sections 647(f) and ff. of the California Penal Code.

⁴⁵Report by Los Angeles Police Commissioner Barbara Lindemann Schlei and Los Angeles Fire Commissioner Ann Reiss Lane, Task Force on L.A.'s Homeless, "Mental Health and Inebriates Issues", March 6, 1986, p.8.

⁴⁶The number of such arrests is reported to have declined from about 50,000 in 1977 to about 1,000 in 1984. Richard Spiegelman and Marianne Smith, "California's Services for Public Inebriates: An Inventory and Report to the Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs," December 31, 1985, p.9.

⁴⁷F. Hunter, A Strategy in Humanistic Urban Conservation VI, pp. 1-2 (1979). Unpublished manuscript on file at the Office on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism.

in a peer-supported environment. This is an approach similar to that used by Alcoholics Anonymous, where recovering alcoholics, most of them without professional degrees in a related field, conduct individualized detoxification programs. The social model is used at the detoxification center at the Volunteers of America and at the Salvation Army (Harbor Light). As in all addiction programs, however, recidivism remains a serious problem afflicting all corrective approaches.⁴⁸

In addition to agencies that are focused primarily on alcoholism, almost all of the agencies in Skid Row work with clients who are alcoholics, so that most have a skilled staff and special programs devoted to this element of the population. Two privately funded programs devote the greatest portion of their efforts to this population at various points in the treatment cycle: Volunteers of America (VOA) and People in Progress (PIP), which originated as a part of VOA. A third agency, the Office of Alcohol Programs, is a part of the Los Angeles County Department of Health Services, which directs public funds into programs throughout the County which serve this population. Its staff also provides technical assistance to programs throughout the County. While this agency does not maintain an office in the Skid Row area, a large portion of its funding is directed to Skid Row. Three other agencies -- Salvation Army (Harbor Light), United American Indian Involvement, and the Union Rescue Mission -- offer programs that absorb large numbers of alcoholics as well.

Estimates by the five agencies that many consider the key direct "alcoholism services" providers⁴⁹ suggest that they make about 2,600 "contacts" in Skid Row per week involving clients with alcohol-related problems. For this purpose, a client contact is defined as one interaction with one client within a 24-hour period.⁵⁰ The majority of the services are provided by para-professionals and professionals, rather than by volunteers. Services are available on a walk-in basis during much of the year, although there is a waiting period for services in the busier winter months.

Of course, any review of direct alcoholism services understates the value of services provided to alcoholics by Skid Row agencies because alcoholics also receive basic life support services -- shelter, food and clothing -- through many agencies in the area. Beyond these basics, the range of available services in Skid Row for the alcoholic varies from simple pick up and delivery of drunks (which is done by the police, the Fire Department and the Boozer Cruiser) to the Sobering Station at the Volunteers of America (VOA), to provision of a limited number of beds for primary detoxification at the VOA and the Salvation Army (Harbor Light). (Generically speaking, primary detoxification is the initial stage of treatment, which typically consists of screening, a bed, and support until the inebriate becomes sober enough to make decisions about treatment.⁵¹) The VOA and the Salvation Army also offer a continuum of care in which the client can progress from primary detox to residence in a treatment center and eventual return to the Skid Row community. Few, however, have the opportunity to receive secondary detox⁵² or

⁴⁸ For example, in 1976 the County/USC Medical Center reported a readmission rate for alcoholics of 51-73%. Skid Row: Recommendations to Citizen Advisory Committee on the Central Business District Plan for the City of Los Angeles, Part 3: "Alcoholism Treatment."

⁴⁹ As noted above, the Office of Alcohol Programs is not a direct provider.

⁵⁰ Note that this need not be a new contact. A client who spends seven consecutive days in a week-long program would register in this measure as seven client contacts. Thus, the number of contacts may contain large redundancies as to individuals, and cannot be taken in any sense as a measure of the alcoholic population in the Skid Row area.

⁵¹ Concepts of "primary" and "secondary" detoxification vary among agencies and among professionals in the field. The definitions employed herein attempt to identify the characteristics which most often define the distinction between the two stages of detox involved.

⁵² Again generically speaking, secondary detoxification is a treatment stage which includes counseling and then referral to a long-term program that seeks to make it possible for the client to return to independent living outside Skid Row.

therapy in an alcohol-free environment. There are a few accommodations for the latter forms of care in Skid Row, but they are not reserved solely for recovering alcoholics. Given the large number of alcoholics in the area, only a very small minority can be served in this way.

The following are brief summaries of the agencies that focus most directly on alcohol abuse:

Office of Alcohol Programs

As previously noted, the Office of Alcohol Programs is not a direct provider of alcoholism services, but channels public funds from the Federal, State and County governments into alcoholism programs throughout the County. It currently oversees programs of this kind which cost a total of about \$40 million per year. Approximately 70 employees staff this office. \$12.6 million of this budget is funded by the State Department of Alcohol Programs of the State of California. The remaining expenses are funded through SSI and from private sources (i.e., users fees for programs, revenue from ticketed drivers, and private contributions).

People in Progress (PIP)

People in Progress (PIP) has two activities largely devoted to alcoholics. The first is the Public Information, Education and Referral (PIER) Program, of which the best known component is probably the Civilian Assistance Program (CAP), the aforementioned civilian operated Boozer Cruiser that picks up inebriates on the street and drops them off for sobering and/or detoxification or other appropriate services. It makes about 10,000 pickups per year (300 per week). By PIP's accounts, 98% of the people picked up are male. PIP offers continuing care for Skid Row alcoholics in its Community Re-Entry program, in which 10-12 recovering alcoholics are seen each week for counseling on independent living (job placement, housing, education).⁵³ In addition to the Boozer Cruiser, the PIER effort provides information on agency services, referrals, community events and the dangers of alcohol abuse.⁵⁴ The agency provides its services through the use of a large number of volunteers. Forty volunteers work between four and 16 hours per week, in addition to six paid FTE devoted to management and another five paid FTE providing support services.

Most of the cost of PIP is financed through grants from the County Office of Alcohol Programs. Smaller amounts are received from private donations. The largest portion of the expenditures attributed to Skid Row operations finances the Community Re-entry program, with the CAP only about 60% as expensive. Most PIP services are delivered through volunteer effort, so that its cost structure is different from those of many other organizations.

⁵³PIP also operates an Alcohol Free Living Program, located outside Skid Row, which provides 25 beds for secondary detoxification of recovering alcoholics. This activity is not included in this review because of the non-Skid Row location of this facility, but some of its residents reportedly come from Skid Row.

⁵⁴The PIER Program is headquartered a short distance outside the boundaries of Skid Row, but is included here because many of its patrons come from the Skid Row area.

Salvation Army (Harbor Light)

Salvation Army (Harbor Light) offers three services: alcohol treatment; spiritual services; and meals. A total of 1,900 meals are served per day in two dining rooms. In addition, there are 230 beds for overnight accommodations, most of which are occupied by men in the alcohol treatment program. Alcoholism services are offered to 125 people per day. The treatment program consists of three phases:

- Initial screening and applicable program assignment.
- Counseling and a 30-60 day intensive alcohol education program.
- "Re-entry" into the community through vocational rehabilitation training.

Harbor Light also has a work therapy program. It involves 70 men at any one time, who are paid \$7-\$20 per week to perform kitchen, maintenance and/or general office duties. The agency reports that 99% of its client population lives on Skid Row, 98% are male, 70% are between 30 and 60 years old, and 70% are drug users as well as alcoholics. The program is operated with a large corps of volunteers (70 people working about four hours per week). Paid staff include three FTE devoted to management, six support FTE, and seven para-professionals on staff. The budget is financed largely from government funds (County Office of Alcohol Programs, Food Stamps), but also includes private donations via the United Way and contributions to the Salvation Army. The organization has one of the largest facilities in the area (72,000 square feet), which is wholly owned by its parent organization.

Union Rescue Mission (URM)

Union Rescue Mission (URM) conducts a series of activities which serve the alcoholic population of the area. To a greater degree than virtually any other Skid Row agency, URM has formally divided its overall range of activities into separate programs each of which is keyed to particular elements of the population. All except two of these programs make use of a single physical facility, which contains 250 beds for overnight accommodations, and most offer some combination of food, shelter and spiritual counseling. There is a general primary detoxification program, offering a 30-day regimen of the "social model" referred to above. The Overcomers Program, which is limited to persons over the age of 26, is the Mission's only program specifically devoted to recovering alcoholics, but participants in such other programs as the Hispanic Ministry and the Crossroads Program (which is restricted to persons between 18 and 26) may take part in some activities operated for Overcomers. In addition, several other URM programs apparently also reach significant numbers of alcoholics, since people who have or have had problems with alcohol reportedly make up at least half of the total URM service population.

The Mission also offers spiritual counseling in a residential setting both inside and outside Skid Row. In addition to its Skid Row facility, the mission operates Green Oak Ranch, a retreat located in San Diego County some 45 minutes from metropolitan San Diego where clients enroll for 18-24 months for a work and training program. The capacity is about 30 persons and vacancies are filled as they are created. An additional facility, Bethel Haven, located in Los Angeles but outside Skid Row, serves single women and/or women with children. This facility reportedly serves 35 individuals per day. Although some of its patrons may have an alcohol problem, this program is not specifically designed for alcoholics.

The annual operating budget for all services is entirely supported from private sources, foundations, and fees for services. An average of 170 clients utilize the Mission's services

at all times, 30 of whom are part of the Overcomers alcoholic services program. The budget for this program alone is \$95,000 annually.

United American Indian Involvement

United American Indian Involvement offers services exclusively to American Indians, which are supported by the proceeds of a grant from the Federal agency responsible for Indian health services. The agency serves 50-90 lunches per-day (lunch is the only meal it serves), and reports that about 70% of its patrons are regulars who take that meal at its facility virtually every day. In addition, between 16 and 20 people per day use showers and day-beds and receive personal counseling. There is no waiting list for services, but an intake interview is necessary to confirm ethnic status. The agency estimates that half of the population it serves consists of alcoholics and drug abusers. About 60% of its budget is absorbed by the salaries of its six counselors.

Volunteers of America (VOA)

Volunteers of America (VOA) operates three programs: the VOA alcoholism program, a residential program for elderly and disabled men and women (Ballington Plaza), and a specialized shelter program for women and couples. The largest of these is the alcoholism program, which serves about 5,000 individuals per month. The residential program serves 270 people at any one time, and is now in its sixth year of operation. The program for women and couples, now in its third year, serves 95 people per day.

The alcoholism services include:

- A Sobering Station.
- A drop in center/reception refuge.⁵⁵
- Primary detoxification.⁵⁶
- Secondary detoxification (Transitional Residential Community Recovery Program).⁵⁷

These activities include extensive counseling, which the VOA records in terms of "units of service," each of which represents three or more hours of such counseling. In the most recent year, the agency reports that it delivered 16,000 such units, or a total of at least 48,000 hours.

Each week the VOA provides shelter and/or meals to more than 1,000 persons in its complex in the Weingart Center, where, among other facilities, there are 75 overnight rooms for residential use. Of users of alcoholism services, the organization reports that 90% are regular users, 90% are male, and 90% receive County General Relief and live permanently in the Skid Row area.

The full VOA anti-alcoholism budget is financed almost entirely from government funds. Almost all of these government funds come from the County, though a small amount is

⁵⁵ This is a safe place for persons to sit and have coffee. It is not exclusively restricted to inebriates, but is frequently used by them. If the patron is drunk, he/she is encouraged to join the agency's detoxification program.

⁵⁶ The initial stage of detoxification treatment, which lasts 18 hours or more, beginning after a client is sober. The client is given sleepwear, a towel, a shower and a bed.

⁵⁷ According to the VOA definition, secondary detoxification treatment consists of one-on-one counseling, group therapy and referral to a long-term program. This stage lasts up to seven days. The agency can accommodate up to 46 such clients at a time.

financed through the Food Stamp program. The program has a staff complement of 37 full-time paid employees plus five volunteers who work 20-40 hours per week.

LEGAL SERVICES

Inner City Law Center Mental Health Advocacy Services

Overview

The main sources of free or subsidized legal services available to the Skid Row population reportedly provide advice and legal aid to about 150 people per week. In the case of class action suits, of course, the impact is broader than is expressed in the number of individual clients directly assisted.

Legal actions mounted on behalf of Skid Row residents have taken a number of forms. One prominent approach to perceived problems in the Skid Row area has been the threat of legal action against owners of Skid Row SRO housing owners to force them to improve living conditions, and/or to prevent them from changing the nature of the tenant population in their buildings (e.g., to keep them from crowding families in what were previously SRO quarters). Another focus of attention has been challenging the adequacy of L.A. County's assistance programs to the homeless and indigent. A case settled in 1987, for example, addressed the problem mentioned earlier, in which General Relief recipients received \$228 a month, whereas the monthly rent of many SRO rooms in Skid Row is, by itself, higher than this stipend. Another suit, recently decided in Los Angeles Superior Court, ordered Los Angeles County to prepare a plan to help the mentally disabled apply for GR benefits. This action successfully argued that mentally ill residents of Los Angeles are without food and shelter because they do not know how to apply for this assistance.

Looking briefly at the agencies that chiefly supply legal services in the area, they are as follows:

Inner City Law Center

Inner City Law Center is devoted to legal assistance and emergency social work services to the poor who live and work in the downtown area. It operates out of the storefront portion of the same building in which Transition House is located. Its small paid staff includes one professional attorney assisted by three para-professionals. There are also two paid management staff, one support staff, and several law students and interns who volunteer their time. Approximately 100 persons per week are served.

Cases taken typically involve intervention with welfare and other public agencies, mediation of landlord-tenant and employer-employee disputes, assistance to clients in filling out administrative forms, and the securing of emergency aid when, for example, a client is unable to obtain assistance while awaiting a court decision. About two-thirds of the Center's funding comes from the City,⁵⁸ and the remainder comes in about equal proportions from private and State resources. Where class action cases merit it, referrals may be made to outside law firms for pro bono representation.

⁵⁸This support comes from Federal Block Grant monies which are allocated by the Los Angeles City Council.

Over the past six years, the Inner City Law Center has participated in several lawsuits which have resulted in the removal of barriers to shelter and services for the homeless and indigent. The first such case, Eisenheim v. County of Los Angeles, attacked a County requirement that GR applicants produce formal identification before receiving aid. The suit led to a Court Order mandating that people be provided with shelter on the first day of application. Following that ruling, housing demand among such applicants increased and the County began issuing \$8 checks to applicants when all County Vendor-Voucher rooms had been filled. This amount was subsequently challenged as insufficient to finance the purchase of adequate shelter in Ross v. the County of Los Angeles. This suit led to an Order requiring the County to provide actual shelter, rather than a check, for each applicant.

After the ruling in Ross, the County expanded the list of housing facilities participating in its shelter program. Paris v. County of Los Angeles then challenged the County's alleged use of SRO's with rats, and without heat, hot water, and functioning plumbing. This suit has since been expanded and now alleges that Los Angeles County illegally spends \$2.8 million per year to lodge indigents in unsafe SRO's in Skid Row.

Another lawsuit, Bannister v. County of Los Angeles, forced the County to change the GR workfare regulations so that particular technical errors by the recipient no longer result in a 60 day penalty period during which the recipient is without assistance. Another pending suit by the Law Center challenges the GR workfare program altogether, alleging that it is so complicated that most of the eligible population cannot utilize it.

Mental Health Advocacy Services

Mental Health Advocacy Services is a project of the Los Angeles County Bar Association, the Beverly Hills Bar Association, and the California Mental Health Association. It relies on volunteer attorneys, law interns, and para-legals to handle the case load. Services are focused on assisting clients in obtaining benefits within the mental health system. This frequently means trying to get eligible people shifted from GR to SSI. This effort has been aided by a pilot program in interagency cooperation between SSI, DPSS and the local mental health agencies to try to ensure that qualified clients obtain proper aid from SSI. Mental Health Advocacy operates with a total staff of 7.5 FTE.

MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

*Downtown Women's Center
Los Angeles Men's Place
Mental Health Advocacy Services
Para Los Ninos
Project Return
Skid Row Mental Health Service
Traveler's Aid
UCLA School of Nursing/Union Rescue Mission
Veterans Administration Outreach Program*

Overview

A recent study of the mental health of the Skid Row area population indicates that about one-third of that population may be severely or chronically mentally ill.⁵⁹ The growth of this population has been variously attributed to changes in mental health laws, the patients' rights movement, and the philosophy that shorter hospital stays and more treatment in the community are more beneficial to the mentally ill than hospitalization, leading to so-called "deinstitutionalization" of the mentally ill. It is indicative of the level of deinstitutionalization which has occurred that occupied State mental hospital beds in California have dropped in number from some 37,000 in 1960 to 5,000 in 1983.⁶⁰ The dollars saved from deinstitutionalization did not follow the patients to the community level, however, and only a few community centers were built. Thus, many mentally ill persons are thought to be roaming the streets, since there are few community facilities to which they can go.

Despite this widespread impression, however, the Farr study cited above does not support the hypothesis that the large concentration of mentally ill in Skid Row is largely a result of deinstitutionalization. Of the sample of individuals interviewed for that study, only 15% reported having spent some time in a State mental hospital. Farr concluded that "while these data do not confirm a significant degree of past hospitalization among homeless individuals,...they do not support the simplistic notion that the homeless are largely comprised of ex-State hospital residents."⁶¹ Farr attributed the bulk of the problem to: (i) changing mental health laws that have affected the ability of the treatment system to deliver services; (ii) the failure of the "miracle" psychiatric drugs of the 1960s to be panaceas for the chronically ill; (iii) the lack of training of the families of the mentally ill; and (iv) the resistance of the chronically ill to traditional mental health treatment approaches.⁶²

Whatever causal explanation may be preferred, however, no one is in doubt about the fact of the concentration of mentally ill persons in the Skid Row area. Until recently, many of the social service programs in Skid Row provided only crisis intervention for mental health problems. Agencies offering such services included Traveler's Aid, the UCLA School of Nursing/Union Rescue Mission, and Para Los Ninos. These intervention services were offered primarily by para-professionals or non-professionals. The UCLA School of Nursing/Union Rescue Mission program did have a half-time social worker

⁵⁹Roger Farr, op. cit. A Study of Homelessness and Mental Illness in the Skid Row Area of Los Angeles, March 1986, p xi.

⁶⁰"Recommendations for the Homeless Mentally Ill," prepared for the Countywide Task Force on the Homeless, June, 1985. (Appears as an Appendix to the Task Force Report of August, 1985.)

⁶¹Farr, Ibid., p. xiv.

⁶²Roger Farr, "A Programmatic View of the Homeless Mentally Ill in Los Angeles County," International Journal of Family Psychiatry, Volume 6, No. 2, 1985.

whose time was primarily devoted to mental health issues, but most of the personnel in the other agencies who provided crisis care were not mental health professionals.

An expansion of these services began in 1981 when, as a result of the killing of a Los Angeles County Department of Public Social Services (DPSS) worker in the Central City District Office which serves Skid Row, the County Department of Mental Health (DMH) began to provide assistance to DPSS workers to better deal with their clients. A weekly mental health consultation clinic was set up for DPSS staff, as was a referral system allowing appropriate referral of clients to treatment facilities. A Skid Row branch of a Countywide self-help organization for the mentally ill, Project Return, which is described below, was set up in 1980. In July 1981, a full time mental health professional was hired in the DPSS office. By the fall of 1981, a DMH psychiatrist was added to the DPSS staff. In 1982, these services were made available, on a consultative basis, to the personnel of the missions on Skid Row and to other social service agencies. An association of mental health professionals was formalized in the Skid Row Mental Health Project and the association of project professionals at missions and social service providers was later formalized through the formation of the Concerned Agencies of Metropolitan Los Angeles (CMLA) in that year.

In September 1982, CMLA distributed a 100-page directory of Skid Row area social services to facilitate appropriate social service referrals. In addition, CMLA began to provide evaluations of the mental health of clients, funded by a \$65,000 grant from Los Angeles County, to enable them to qualify for public assistance under the Social Security disability program. In 1983, the Skid Row Mental Health Project also organized a set of meetings to improve the capacity of clients to use public transportation to leave the area to find services, jobs and/or housing, by opening a weekly Rapid Transit District (RTD) Clinic and helping clients to obtain low cost RTD passes by filling out the required forms.⁶³ In October 1985, the Skid Row Mental Health Project became the Skid Row Mental Health Service. The program currently has a paid staff of 24, occupies 4,250 square feet of space in the Weingart Center and operates with an annual budget of approximately \$800,000.

Despite the expansion in services, mental health professionals continue to regard the services available as inadequate to the problem. They recommend the addition of programs to enable street level outreach, early intervention and identification of the mentally ill, and the creation of a County-wide system of emergency multi-service drop in centers to provide safe havens in major gathering places.⁶⁴

Aggregation of the numbers of people reportedly served by all mental health related agencies on Skid Row suggests that about 1,600 client contacts⁶⁵ per week are made in order to deliver some form of service related to mental health. The preponderance of clients are reportedly men, most of whom are between 30 and 60 years old. Relatively few families seek mental health services. The agencies estimate that virtually all of their clients are GR recipients, and some 10-15% are alcohol or drug abusers.

⁶³This history is described in Roger K. Farr, "The Los Angeles Skid Row Mental Health Project," Psychosocial Rehabilitation Journal, Volume VIII, Number 2, October, 1984.

⁶⁴This viewpoint is summarized in the discussion of the mentally ill contained in the Report by Los Angeles Police Commissioner Barbara Lindemann Schlei and Los Angeles Fire Commissioner Ann Reiss Lane, The LAPD, the LAFD and the Skid Row Homeless, March, 6, 1986, p. 12. See also the program recommendations in Roger Farr, "A Mental Health Treatment Program for the Homeless Mentally Ill in the Los Angeles Skid Row Area," Treating the Homeless: Urban Psychiatry's Challenge, ed. B.E. Jones, M.D. (Monograph Series of the American Psychiatric Press, Inc., 1986).

⁶⁵Note that a "client contact" is defined as one contact with one person during a 24-hour period. Since many mentally ill people may be in programs involving continuous contact for days or weeks, the number of "contacts" thusly defined cannot be taken as the number of individuals with whom contact is made.

A summary review of the principal agencies providing mental health service follows.

Los Angeles Men's Place (LAMP)

Los Angeles Men's Place (LAMP) provides support in a day care setting to men who have been deinstitutionalized from mental hospitals. They receive food, clothing, daytime beds, crisis counseling and advocacy, family mediation, and various other informal services. Approximately 80 individuals per day are served. Most (75%) reportedly return on a regular basis. The size of the total population served in the course of a year is estimated at about 400 individuals. The agency's paid staff includes counseling professionals as well as a small number of volunteers. The annual operating budget is supported entirely from private sources (foundations and private donations). The CRA and Atlantic Richfield Foundation have each contributed toward the purchase of the building LAMP occupies, and the CRA has, in addition, provided \$24,000 to assist with rehabilitation of the facility.

Skid Row Mental Health Service

Skid Row Mental Health Service is the largest of the mental health agencies. County-supported, its paid staff includes M.D.'s, five R.N.'s, three Ph.D.'s, three social workers with advanced degrees, and a credentialed psychologist. Most of its funding comes through the State Short-Doyle program,⁶⁶ which provides 88% of the agency total. The agency conducts outreach activities, consultations with shelter and other social service agency staffs, psychiatric evaluations for SSI, group therapy, crisis management, outpatient treatment, medication and monitoring, a drop-in center and placement of patients into long term care where appropriate.

Services are provided on a walk-in basis, with fees determined by the client's ability to pay. The agency reports that at the present time it has approximately 600 open cases; 6-700 closed cases, and another 2,500 cases with screening information records. The Service will not take clients who are under the influence of alcohol or drugs, referring such individuals to a detox center.

In addition to the programs above, the following agencies offer ancillary services:

Mental Health Advocacy Services

Mental Health Advocacy Services, of which a summary description has already been provided, offers counseling on legal issues directly related to mental disability.

Project Return

Project Return is a self-help club for socialization of mental health service recipients, staffed by volunteers from Skid Row Mental Health Services and Traveler's Aid. The Central Region Program has eight clubs, including one in Skid Row which opened some months ago. The focus of the program is to establish a network of similar clubs throughout the region so that individuals can be moved out of Skid Row and still have a

⁶⁶The Short-Doyle Act of California law funds community based mental health programs and facilities. The 1984 amendments to the Act required counties to submit an annual mental health plan which incorporates the following priority populations: chronically mentally ill; mentally disturbed children and adolescents; mentally ill elderly; mentally ill jail inmates and mentally ill wards of juvenile detention facilities; and underserved populations. The Los Angeles County Department of Mental Health is responsible for administration of the Short-Doyle Program.

familiar network in other areas. Since the Skid Row club is new, attendance at club meetings is low -- a reported average of four individuals per meeting.

UCLA School of Nursing Medical Clinic

Almost all clients seen by the UCLA School of Nursing Medical Clinic are treated for some degree of mental illness in addition to their physical health care problems.

(Para Los Ninos also serves many abused and/or neglected children. The remaining agencies in this group [V.A. Outreach, Traveler's Aid, Downtown Women's Center] come into contact with and act as referral sources for mental health service providers in the area, as well as for the County/USC Medical Center.)

None of the above listed major service providers are available on a 24-hour-a-day basis, although they do operate seven days per week. This means that the Los Angeles Police Department is often the service provider of last resort. The LAPD has a Mental Evaluation Unit in the area, staffed by 10 Detectives and Patrol Officers, which operates 24 hours a day, seven days a week. This Unit's concern is largely with the mental status of those arrested for criminal activities. The LAPD also has participated, since 1985, in a joint agreement to receive and provide mutual support in the area with the County Department of Mental Health, the Office of the District Attorney and that of the Fire Chief.

MEDICAL TREATMENT

*Catholic Worker Community
UCLA School of Nursing Medical Clinic
Veterans Administration Outreach Program
Weingart Medical Clinic*

Overview

Little data is available on the physical health of the Skid Row population. The most recent perspective on the probable health condition of area residents is provided by an unpublished study done by the SRO Housing Corporation in 1984, in which a sample of 174 SRO residents were interviewed on a variety of subjects including their health status and their rates of health care service utilization.⁶⁷ At that time, 52% of the respondents reported themselves to be in good health, 32% in fair health and 16% in poor health. Evaluations varied with age; the older the respondent the more likely he was to rate himself in fair or poor health. Almost a third of the total population indicated that they were ill in some way.

Three Skid Row agencies provide medical health services as part of their primary missions. These are the Catholic Workers Hospitality Free Medical Clinic, the UCLA School of Nursing program at the Union Rescue Mission, and the Weingart Medical Clinic. The L.A. Fire Department Paramedics (7th Street Squad) must also be considered an integral part of the network of health services in the area. They receive calls for non-emergency service because sometimes no other option is available. They frequently function as transporter of last resort between Skid Row and the County/USC Medical

⁶⁷Unpublished SRO Housing Corp. study, 1984. The SRO questionnaire was derived from a research instrument first utilized in 1980 with a similar population in Portland.

Center. They estimate that they respond to as many as 32 calls in each 24-hour period, and at least 600 calls per month. Most of these calls are for gunshot, stabbing or assault and battery injuries, usually related to alcohol and/or substance abuse.⁶⁸ The County/USC Medical Center Emergency Room also acts as a primary care facility for Skid Row residents.

The area does not now have a specific program for the medical treatment of drug abuse, although some agencies focus on drug users in some of their programs. Care for other health problems is available during the day, Monday through Friday. There is only paramedic or emergency room service available in the evening and on weekends. Under the aegis of the Shelter Partnership, this problem is now under discussion by a working group of health care providers and other interested health care agencies, including representatives of California Hospital, a private hospital whose emergency room also serves the Skid Row population, the Red Cross and the Hospital Council, which runs a County Indigent Service Network.⁶⁹

Taking a summary look at the medical services agencies:

Catholic Worker Hospitality Free Medical Clinic

Catholic Worker Hospitality Free Medical Clinic provides free acute care services four days per week, utilizing the help of a large number of volunteers (30-40 doctors and nurses who donate two to eight work sessions per month). The Clinic last systematically tracked its usage in April 1980 and concluded that 592 people had been seen. The largest number of cases involved prenatal follow ups (101); followed by changing bandages (60), birth control (51), and the treatment of minor skin lesions (50) and viral syndromes (50). More recent data on the Clinic's clientele indicate that approximately 110 different individuals are seen per week.

The Clinic provides services to large numbers of refugee families. As many as half of its clients are women who come with their children from Skid Row and other areas of downtown to receive family medical care, prenatal care, and medical referral services. Supporting funds are provided by the Catholic Worker Community. Facilities include some pharmaceuticals and limited laboratory equipment.

UCLA School of Nursing Medical Clinic

The UCLA School of Nursing/Union Rescue Mission Program has been in operation for one year. The Union Rescue Mission housed a volunteer health clinic for 20 years before UCLA began providing services. Up until 1983, health services were provided during only four hours per week and the Mission was considering closing the program. In the Spring of 1983, the Mission approached UCLA's School of Nursing about the possibility of involving student nurses in the clinic so that it could be open longer hours. That summer the Nursing School started providing an additional four hours per week of clinic service and, by the following year, was operating a full-time health clinic.

⁶⁸ Interview with Kevin Nida, Bureau of Emergency Medical Services, City of Los Angeles.

⁶⁹ The providers have divided themselves into five working groups, including units focused on patient transport; medical support services (e.g. x-ray equipment, lab and pharmacy supplies); the problem of creating a free standing clinic; public health issues, including the apparent increase in tuberculosis cases in the area; and future expansion or contraction of services in Skid Row.

Since the program began, some 10,000 patients have been seen. At present the program offers primary medical care to approximately 200 people per week in space provided by the Mission. Of these, 75% are reportedly one-time users, 40% are age 30-60, and 50% are under 30 years of age. Almost all of the people seen (96%) are male. The supervising M.D. is assisted by a staff of para-professionals and a Family Nurse Practitioner. The total staff consists of fourteen FTE, including support services. The facilities include a small pharmacy and access to beds and food at the mission. Operating costs are defrayed by UCLA, the Union Rescue Mission and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.

However, the Union Rescue Mission has decided to move its location, and has canceled its contract with the Nursing School, although there is an agreement that the clinic may remain in the building until it has found another location. The School of Nursing is committed to maintaining the same level of care in the Skid Row area, but, since there is no funding in its budget for facility costs, it will need to find an agency to house the clinic. The Union Rescue Mission is currently undecided on the size and type of health clinic it will operate after it moves.

Veterans Administration Outreach Program

Veterans Administration Outreach Program primarily conducts social work, though there is medical screening of veterans in detoxification programs, which is done twice weekly at the Los Angeles County Health Services Clinic -- also located at the Weingart Center - through a space sharing agreement. Examinations are conducted by VA doctors who come to the Center twice a week from the Hill Street VA office. The Clinic's medical team consists of two part-time physicians, a nurse and a phlebotamist.

Weingart Medical Clinic

The Weingart Medical Clinic, administered by the H. Claude Hudson Comprehensive Health Center, offers basic health care services, including evaluation, physical examinations, and prescriptions. The clinic does not serve walk-in patients or those with emergency problems. Clients in need of critical care are referred to County/USC Hospital. Emphasis is given to episodic care that requires repeat visits. Approximately 300 people are seen per week. Staff includes a physician and two R.N.'s with a total of nine paid FTE, including support services. The budget is entirely supported by County funds. The Clinic requested \$730,000 from the County for the next fiscal year. It will receive \$380,000, or about \$100,000 more than it currently receives.

In 1980, the original intent of this program was to create a full service neighborhood clinic which would be open 24 hours a day, seven days a week to serve Skid Row families. Plans went forward to implement the initial \$2.5 million program until 1983, when State and County funding cutbacks caused by Proposition 13 led to a paring down of the scope of the clinic to medical treatment for rehabilitating alcoholics. This population was targeted because most of the clinic's funding now comes from the County Office of Alcohol Programs, which places restrictions on how its funds can be used. The Center is open from 7:30 to 4:30 five days a week to service the medical needs of the Skid Row area alcohol rehabilitation provider agencies.

CHILD AND FAMILY SERVICES

*Angel's Flight
Las Familias del Pueblo
Los Angeles Day Care Center
Para Los Ninos*

Overview

Traditional service agencies for children and families in Los Angeles County, such as DPSS and the Department of Health Services, did not have branches to serve families in Skid Row when children first began to be noticed living in the area.⁷⁰ This was in part because up until 1980, DPSS assistance was restricted to General Relief payments to adult, single men. Since many of the children of Skid Row lived in undocumented families, case workers could legally serve these families only to the extent that the services could be justified as benefiting children, who are protected under the State's Child Welfare Act. In 1979, the Los Angeles Times ran a feature article on the plight of the children of Skid Row, spotlighting the negative aspects of the transient hotel environment, the fact that few Skid Row children received schooling, health care, balanced nutrition or exercise, and that many were left all day in apartments while their parents worked. Whether causally related to the article or not, a number of changes have since occurred. Some agencies in Skid Row now do offer services to children and families. Three agencies regard these services as their central mission, and this population as their major target group.

DPSS also responded by establishing a special unit of case workers for Skid Row to deal with children's needs. Traditionally the DPSS Metro North District Children's Service received referrals from Traveler's Aid, hotel operators, and the LAPD for protective services to remove children from the area on a crisis basis. In 1979, for example, 18% of the referrals made by Traveler's Aid were of cases involving children from Skid Row. In 1978 the same agency reported that 134 runaways between the ages of 12 and 17 had come into Skid Row, a 9% increase over the previous year, and that about half of this total were girls.⁷¹ Other than the referring agencies, there was little relationship between the County DPSS Children's Services program and the providers of child and family oriented agencies in Skid Row.⁷² The problems of young children were found to be particularly pressing, since some of the area businesses and factories locked their buildings during the day, not allowing parent employees to leave the premises. As a result, children were left entirely alone or under the supervision of older siblings.⁷³ After 1979, however, DPSS attempted to adopt a strategy which de-emphasized protective care and tried to build a preventive program. In cooperation with Catholic Worker Community personnel, the DPSS unit attempted not only to provide food, clothing, housing and medical care assistance, but also to link clients with non-profit training programs such as the prenatal class offered at Para Los Ninos which is described below.

⁷⁰ See Carlos M. Sosa and Gloria Garcia, "The Children of Skid Row," Bureau of Social Services, Department of Public Social Services, May 30, 1979. This study indicated that there were 3,000 children from intact families living in Skid Row in 1979.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 4.

⁷² The 1979 DPSS report recommended that an inter-agency task force be created to look into the service needs of families in Skid Row. But it also noted that "in discussing the problems of the area with staff from various agencies, there was some anger over the fact that this recommendation had been made in the past and then not developed. Ibid., p. 5.

⁷³ DPSS Child Services Report (1981), based on data provided by Skid Row Case Workers Eladio Sarniz and Sylvia Huerta.

In 1981, when the DPSS unit for the area was started, there were seven caseworkers and a supervisor for the area. Each worker carried 65 cases⁷⁴ for one year. Starting in 1982, each caseworker became responsible for 87 cases, which were to be held for no longer than 90 days. In April 1986, DPSS caseworkers expanded their boundaries beyond Skid Row and began serving the entire Civic Center area. There are currently six caseworkers responsible for this larger area, and they each work with an average of 25 children a month, or an average total of 149 cases.⁷⁵

A further issue regarding children has recently been raised by a decision of the Los Angeles Superior Court. The Court has ordered the State to withdraw welfare regulations that require children from homeless families to leave their parents before they can qualify for emergency shelter. The order is based on a ruling last May⁷⁶ holding that a State regulation limiting emergency shelter assistance only to children who have been removed from their families violates State laws that encourage needy families, whenever possible, to be kept intact. The Los Angeles Times⁷⁷ reported that implementing this order could lead to a requirement that the State, not the County, provide short-term housing for homeless families throughout California.

Recreational facilities also represent a special problem. There are no parks for children in the Skid Row area. In 1982 a 1/3 acre park was created at 6th and Gladys Streets, which won national awards for its design. The park was designed both for adult and children's use. For two years, there was a struggle about whether the park was to be for adults or children. As park activity became more violent, fewer and fewer children were seen there. In the last two years, the restrooms and play equipment have been removed due to vandalism and crime, and public lighting has been increased for better surveillance. The CRA is planning to redesign the park in 1987.

In July 1986, another park of equal size was opened at 5th and San Julian Streets. It is intended for adult use exclusively, and was designed in a way which took advantage of the lessons learned from the park at 6th and Gladys. The SRO Housing Corporation operates and maintains the park and great effort is being made to enforce its 10 p.m. closing time.

Para Los Ninos and Las Familias del Pueblo, the two major children's services providers in the area, together spent slightly more than \$1 million for child and family services in Skid Row in FY 85-86. Para Los Ninos estimates that it spends between \$1,600 and \$3,500 per child per year for all its programs except the Family Crisis Center (for which data are not available). Las Familias del Pueblo is unable to estimate its cost per client because it does not maintain intake records and the number of individuals utilizing its Center at any one hour can range from 50 to 150 children and parents. For relocating families, the agency's average expense is \$630 per family.

The agencies primarily serving children and families are sketched below.

Angel's Flight

Angel's Flight provides food, clothing, counseling, medical assistance, and transportation assistance to runaway children under 18 years of age. About 105 individuals are

⁷⁴ Each child in a family served is considered a separate case.

⁷⁵ Beginning July, 1984, data collection procedures were revised from counting all children in the family to reporting only those children receiving protective services.

⁷⁶ The case was called Hansen v. McMahon.

⁷⁷ "State Ordered to Revise Welfare Rule", LA Times, August 1, 1986.

reportedly served every month, of whom 80% are male. Most of the beneficiaries of the Program now reside regularly in Skid Row. Many are undocumented Hispanics who were initially in transit to work on farms in Northern California but have instead remained in the area. During 1985, the agency contacted 178 new individuals and an additional 734 repeat users. During the same period, the agency reports that it delivered a total of 5,714 hours of counseling, offered by a team of para-professionals (9 FTE) and 12 volunteers who spend a day a week doing such counseling. The agency operates its downtown, Hollywood, North Hollywood and Mobile Crisis Center programs on a budget of \$600,000 per year, all of which comes from private sources, the largest of which is Catholic Charities. Angel's Flight is planning to move out of Skid Row in 1987 to Westlake. Its space will be converted into a dormitory by the St. Vincent de Paul Society.

Las Familias del Pueblo

Las Familias del Pueblo has as its primary objective relocating families away from the Skid Row area. It provides support services to assist them in their resettlement. The basic service is to identify families living in the Skid Row area and then to assist them in relocating to a safer environment. The agency's view is that the families use the Skid Row area as the port of entry to the U.S. because rents are cheap, employment is available nearby, and the area offers some protective anonymity. However, as soon as is feasible, the agency's goal is to find housing for these families in other areas. The agency provides funds for moving and furniture costs through a grant from the CRA that covers 90% of the moving expenses incurred.

Since 1984, Las Familias del Pueblo has moved 241 families.⁷⁸ About 90% of these families are reportedly comprised of recent immigrants, and few of them are receiving public assistance. In addition to relocation, they also depend on the organization for counseling in a broad range of areas, including legal aid, health care, and sanctuary for women.

The organization also offers a community center, which is used largely by women 30-40 years of age. English classes are available, as is the use of the telephone and limited amounts of food. The day center serves 120-140 women and children per day, not including those who attend the English classes.

The operating budget of the organization, unlike its support of relocation expenses, which is subsidized by CRA, is entirely funded from private sources. The agency employs two paid FTE's, a 1/2 FTE devoted to the relocation work, and two part-time volunteers.

Los Angeles Day Care Center

The Los Angeles Day Care Center, a program run by the Salvation Army, is a licensed day care center which provides child care, child care nutrition, child abuse/neglect prevention programs and regional occupational training for handicapped high school students. The center can serve up to 200 children and is always operating at capacity. The center has three employees in management positions and seven support staff. Twenty-four handicapped high school students are trained and work with the children five days a week.

⁷⁸It should be noted that, although there is active debate about how many families live in the Skid Row area, the officers of this Program believe that after these relocations there were only about 50-60 families still resident there.

Para Los Ninos

Para Los Ninos opened in direct response to publication of the Los Angeles Times exposé in 1981. It provides a broad range of services to children and families, including shelter, emergency meals for children, referrals for mental health, medical care and housing, and day care services. A major function of the organization is child abuse intervention and prevention. This is achieved through a range of means, from counseling to educational programs. The agency also provides latch-key afternoon programs for children. During 1985, a total of 3,600 individuals -- mothers, fathers, children and single clients -- were served by the agency's programs. Many of the children are now living outside Skid Row, but return to the agency for services which are not available in the areas to which they have been relocated. The agency employs a staff of 89. Seven staff members are in management, 15 are non-management professionals, 50 are para-professionals and 17 individuals provide staff support.

The Family Crisis Center -- one of the services provided by Para Los Ninos -- offers emergency aid in the form of shelter vouchers, food, and crisis counseling. Counseling sessions are offered to about 250 individuals per month, and in 30 sessions each week. Clients are families from the downtown area. Only 20% actually reside in Skid Row, with the remainder coming from residential hotels and apartments in nearby downtown areas. The program's operating budget for FY85-86 was \$140,000, 16% of Para Los Ninos' total \$877,000 budget.

The Youth Services Program, also operated by Para Los Ninos, includes the After-School and Juvenile Intervention Programs. These programs are intended to prevent the formation and activities of youth gangs in the area, and serve about 195 individuals who attend daily programs. Most services are offered at the agency's facility, which has activity, dining, and counseling rooms with a maximum capacity of about 400. Some activities are offered at the Ninth Street School. These services are delivered by a staff consisting of professionals (15 FTE), para-professionals (50 FTE), support staff (17 FTE), and volunteer helpers. The staff includes one Licensed Clinical Social Worker, one Ph.D., two MFCC's, and one MSW. Funding is provided by corporations (one-third), private donors (one-third), and grants or fees from public agencies (one-third), including the California Youth Authority, the City of Los Angeles Department of Human Services, and other agencies. The annual budget is \$228,500.

Para Los Ninos also operates a child care program. The Child Care and Development Center provides day care for abused and/or neglected children from six weeks through five years of age. The Program also attempts to educate parents about the proper way to treat their children to prevent out-of-home placement. The budget for this program in FY85/86 was \$323,700. The Latchkey program provides after school day care to children 5 to 12 years of age. The program is located at the Ninth Street School and is administered in conjunction with the Salvation Army Los Angeles Day Care Center. A program that was re-started in January 1987 is the Child Abuse Prevention Program. This program is geared toward the prevention of child abuse, targeted primarily to young, single mothers.

ADULT DAY CARE

*Downtown Women's Center
Las Familias del Pueblo
Los Angeles Men's Place
St. Vincent de Paul Men's Center*

Overview

In Skid Row, unlike most other areas, the term "day care" usually does not refer to a service for children, but one provided for adults who need a safe daytime environment and a supportive atmosphere. Some day care centers in the area also provide shower/shave facilities, delousing, recreation activities and meals. However, no overnight sleeping facilities are available in these facilities,⁷⁹ although some agencies have places for clients to sleep during the daytime hours that they are open.

One agency, the Downtown Women's Center, provides day care facilities only for women. Services have seldom been available to women in Skid Row because missions and shelters traditionally did not have facilities for them. Some providers say that, as a consequence, Skid Row women are more likely to be sleeping on the streets today than are Skid Row men.

It is also relevant in this connection that the City of Los Angeles experimented in 1985 with a program to install portable toilets on a vacant lot at 5th and San Julian Streets. They were quickly vandalized and otherwise abused, and were subsequently removed. In January 1986, the City Council directed the Board of Public Works and the CRA to report back within three weeks on the feasibility and cost of a new portable toilets program for the area. The CRA subsequently performed a study of toilet availability in the area, which concluded that, although the need was real, the cost would be on the order of \$500,000 to install 6-10 portable toilets at fixed locations. CRA recommended to the Mayor that social service agencies provide the facilities instead. No response to this recommendation has yet reportedly been received.

The major day care agencies are as follows:

Downtown Women's Center

Downtown Women's Center provides both adult day care and shelter services exclusively to women. The day care center is open from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., seven days per week. It serves about 50-60 women per day, or as many as 4,200 women per week. This capacity is reportedly inadequate to accommodate all of the women who would like to use these facilities. The Women's Center also has a new shelter which offers 48 private rooms for permanent housing. The agency reports that 75% of the population it serves is between 30 and 60 years old, that almost all are GR recipients, and almost all are mentally ill. On the other hand, only about 10% are reportedly drug or alcohol abusers.

The organization is entirely privately funded. It operates the day center in a 6,000 square foot space, and the new shelter program in a 24,000 square foot renovated space. There is a small paid staff (one FTE management, three FTE professional services, one FTE paraprofessional, one FTE support staff person), along with 15 highly trained volunteers (including several professional nurses) who provide a minimum of four hours each per

⁷⁹The Downtown Women's Center was in the process of opening a new residential facility as this study was in progress.

week. The organization is also supported by other volunteers, who help prepare daily meals and provide other services as well.

(Los Angeles Men's Place and Las Familias del Pueblo also provide adult day care, but they have already been discussed above.)

St. Vincent de Paul Men's Center

St. Vincent de Paul Men's Center is open during the day only (from 7:00 a.m.) and makes available day beds (63), lunch (600 served per day), and showers (100 per day). The services facilities are fully utilized on most days, with 90% of the patrons being men, though some services are available to families. The Catholic Archdiocese owns the building and provides the space. Catholic Charities fills any shortfall in the funds raised from other charitable organizations. The largest portion of these funds is provided by United Way. The Center is operated by a staff of one FTE management person, one professional, three FTE para-professionals, and a large number of volunteers in an affiliated church, who help to prepare lunches.

REHABILITATION SERVICES

*Asian Rehabilitation Services
Salvation Army Adult Rehabilitation Services
Transition House*

Overview

A number of Skid Row agencies attempt in various ways to provide paths out of the pattern of want and dependency which characterizes the area. This is done by teaching skills and providing services which enable some individuals to overcome the personal limitations which otherwise keep them in this pattern. Through caseworker contact, peer and group counseling, vocational rehabilitation and functional skills training, it is believed that many individuals can acquire the knowledge and skills needed to function effectively in the larger society.

The rehabilitation agencies include the following:

Asian Rehabilitation Services

Asian Rehabilitation Services is a vocational rehabilitation agency providing training and counseling in a sheltered workshop environment to non-English speaking Asians. About 120 individuals are reportedly served per day, of whom 70% are male, 34% are physically disabled, and 44% are mentally or developmentally disabled. The annual operating budget is derived from a combination of State funds (Short-Doyle), fees for services, production income, and donations. While it is located within Skid Row, 98% of the users of this agency's services come from outside the area.

Salvation Army

The Salvation Army offers rehabilitation services primarily for alcohol abusers. Some 180 individuals per day are given shelter and food services, together with counseling and socialization programs designed to assist them to get back into the mainstream of society.

Transition House

Transition House is a three-year-old program operated by the Skid Row Development Corporation which provides a comprehensive package of services to homeless men and women who are attempting to make a transition out of the Skid Row area. The 130-bed program (which houses 94 men and 36 women) features structured intake, counseling and follow-up procedures with a maximum stay of 60 days. Food services, shelter, and indoor/outdoor recreation are provided in a protected environment which guarantees a period of stability in what are usually otherwise quite unstable lives.

Though Transition House has for a long time assisted in job counseling and placement, it recently formalized a "performance-based payment" job training program. If an individual from Transition House holds a job for over 30 days and is paid at least \$4.01 per hour, the State Private Industry Council -- through the Los Angeles Business Labor Council -- will pay the Skid Row Development Corporation a set fee (approximately \$1,000).

The population served by Transition House is relatively young; more than two-thirds are reportedly under 35 years of age. Of these, 23% are between 18 and 25. About three-quarters of the service population is black. The program is operated by a staff of one manager, two support service personnel, and two professional and nine para-professional counselors. The organization's physical facility, a renovated 20,000 square foot building, was acquired and rebuilt with funds provided by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Los Angeles Community Development Department, the CRA and private donors. Nevertheless, funding problems continue, as evidenced by the fact that in July, 1986, Transition House sought a \$300,000 emergency loan from CRA to prevent its closure on September 1 as a consequence of increasing costs and decreasing sources of public revenue. The CRA authorized \$218,000 in August to keep Transition House operating through June of 1987.

MULTI-SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

*Catholic Worker Community
Chrysalis
SRO Housing Corporation
Skid Row Development Corporation
Traveler's Aid
Weingart*

Overview

There are a number of agencies in the area which provide comprehensive services on a flexible basis to a broadly defined population. They may do this in addition to running specialized programs, such as food and health services, or offering shelter. The principal examples of this type of operation are as follows:

Los Angeles Catholic Worker Community

Los Angeles Catholic Worker Community provides a health clinic, food services and hospitality houses with 32 shelter beds available. The organization's annual budget is entirely obtained from private donations. It is operated by 12 full-time staff and about 100 regular volunteers. Five to 12 volunteers work in the "soup kitchen" meal service program, where 750 people are served each day. An additional 30-40 doctors and nurses work on a voluntary basis in the health program.

Chrysalis Center

Chrysalis Center is a privately operated agency providing food (a sack of groceries) and clothing to more than 60 people daily. In addition to these basic services, the organization offers programs in vocational and educational training, as well as job placement assistance. It also offers occasional emergency rent subsidies, housing relocation assistance, and arts and crafts classes.

These programs are operated out of a storefront office with an annual budget entirely derived from private sources. The staff includes three managers, and two FTE para-professionals. The agency's budget does not include the cost of donated items or food and clothing and does not account for a group of 50 volunteers (including college interns) that comprise an additional 6.7 FTE of service delivery capacity.

Single Room Occupancy (SRO) Housing Corporation

Single Room Occupancy (SRO) Housing Corporation was incorporated by the CRA in February 1984 to acquire, renovate, manage and maintain residential hotels and apartments in the Central City East area, particularly within defined "priority intervention areas." The priority intervention area, centered at Fifth and San Julian Streets, has been the focus of the Corporation's activities. The Corporation currently owns the Russ Hotel, Annex Hotel, Panama Hotel, Florence Hotel, Harold Hotel, Leo Hotel, Golden West Hotel, Ellis Hotel and Regal Hotel. Only the first four are currently in operation. The others are being, or will be, renovated to meet building code requirements. The Florence Hotel was the most recent to emerge from the renovation process, having reopened in August 1986.

The Corporation also operates a moving assistance program to prevent displacement of any permanent resident living in buildings it acquired and then closed for renovation. (Only families with young children are relocated outside of Central City East.) In addition, the Corporation operates a maintenance project, which, for example, provided crews for cleanup and site preparation work in the Florence Hotel renovation, and for day-to-day maintenance tasks at the Russ and Panama Hotels. SRO also operates a neighborhood cleanup program and manages and maintains the park located at 5th and San Julian Streets as well as public open space at Third and Main Streets. Other activities include research on the Skid Row hotel population and characteristics of area hotels, and active participation in a national network of organizations providing services to the homeless.

The Corporation has a paid staff of 11 central managers, 25 hotel employees and 16 maintenance staff. The number of volunteers who work in the organization varies, depending on the activity. A cleanup program, for example, can attract several hundred volunteers for a day or two. The Corporation is fully funded by the CRA for operating purposes.

Skid Row Development Corporation (SRDC)

Skid Row Development Corporation (SRDC) provides a comprehensive range of services, including food and shelter, training, rehabilitation, and employment development. In addition to operating facilities in Skid Row, the organization acts as a developer for the packaging of projects that involve capital programs for which funds are pooled from Federal and local government and private sources. In addition to operating Transition House, SRDC has renovated 17 apartments in South Central Los Angeles and is considering the purchase of a hotel to provide living accommodations for "graduates" of its rehabilitation programs. Its other projects include the Commercial/Light Industrial Center, the Renaissance Building, and its Paperback Recycling business, each of which provides employment opportunities for Skid Row area residents.

Traveler's Aid

Traveler's Aid provides a comprehensive program of services for adults and youths, which offers outreach mental health services, temporary emergency food for the stranded, temporary shelter and occasional housing. In addition, the programs offer referrals to a wide range of programs operated by other agencies. More than 5,000 individuals are served each year, with as many as 1,200 regular users, and the rest using the service periodically or on a one-time basis. The agency reports that 75% of its clients are under 30 years of age, and 64% are male.

The program operates with funds derived from a combination of government and private sources, including United Way, which supplies over \$400,000 annually. The staff includes five FTE devoted to management, with six FTE providing support services. The professional staff is comprised of ten FTE (15 positions) that include three LCSW's, five MSW's, two MFCC's and three MS's.

Weingart Center

Weingart Center is run by the Weingart Center Association, which both operates its own service programs in the facility and also leases space to other organizations. The Center provides maintenance services and building management and security services for other agencies that use space. The facility is a 12-story building (formerly the 621-room El Rey Hotel) affording more than 120,000 square feet of space. The Weingart Center Association, formed in 1984, uses eight floors for its meal and residential programs, which include two shelter programs: the Screening and Referral Services Program (292 beds); and the General Relief Voucher Program (190 beds). The remaining space is utilized by the Los Angeles Department of Mental Health Clinic, the Volunteers of America Alcohol Detox Program, the H. Claude Hudson Comprehensive Health Center, and the Veterans Administration Satellite Program.

GAPS IN SOCIAL SERVICES: THE PROVIDERS' ASSESSMENT⁸⁰

Most social service providers active in the Skid Row area seem to believe that, on balance, Skid Row residents have an appropriate variety of programs available to them, but that there is not a large enough quantity of service available in some service areas. In general, they say that the services provided encompass most of the types of social services that the population requires. And, where they have identified gaps in the service network, they believe program priorities have been, or are being, shifted to fill them. However, the major areas of unmet needs according to social service providers are shown below in Table II-11.

**TABLE II-11
PROVIDERS' PRIORITIES FOR INCREASED SERVICES^a**

	1st Priority		2nd Priority		3rd Priority		Total Mentions
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#
More Shelter	19	56	6	18	2	8	27
Better Security	4	12	5	15	2	8	11
Services to the Mentally Ill	3	9	6	18	1	4	10
Integration of Services	3	9	2	6	5	19	10
Job Training	3	9	3	9	3	12	9
Programs for Substance Abusers	1	3	3	9	1	4	5
Health Care	0	0	0	0	5	19	5
Financial Aid	0	0	2	6	1	4	3
Education	0	0	3	9	0	0	3
Services for Women	1	3	0	0	0	0	1
Provide Food	0	0	1	3	0	0	1
Public Facilities	0	0	1	3	0	0	1
Day Care	0	0	0	0	1	4	1

^aPercentages for 1st and 2nd Priority categories based on a total of 34 responses. Percentages for the 3rd Priority category based on a total of 26 responses.

⁸⁰A number of funding agencies, governments and other groups have recently tried to assess existing social service gaps in the Skid Row area. Recent assessments include:

- (1) The 1984 Homeless Shelter Survey and Report by United Way. It concludes that United Way should undertake the role of broker to promote cooperation between the public and private sectors with regard to the "homeless" in the Skid Row area.
- (2) The August, 1985 Report of the Countywide Task Force on the Homeless. It includes 28 detailed recommendations which it summarizes in four statements: (a) more low cost housing must be made available, (b) special programs are required for the homeless mentally ill, substance abusers and the handicapped, (c) the existing non-profit shelter programs need increased support, (d) government units must work with the private sector to maximize limited resources.
- (3) The March, 1986 Report by Los Angeles Police Commissioner Barbara Lindemann Schlei and Los Angeles Fire Commissioner Ann Reiss Lane presents a number of recommendations for crime reduction, services to public inebriates, services to the mentally ill, medical services, housing and facilities for women.

Twenty-four agency administrators were also interviewed in depth and asked to describe in an open-ended fashion the service gaps they perceived in the Skid Row area. Table II-12, below, reports their responses.

TABLE II-12
GAPS IN SOCIAL SERVICES PERCEIVED BY PROVIDERS

Service Gaps	Number of Mentions as top Priority
1. Provision of low cost housing (as opposed to shelters) and saving of the existing housing stock.	8
2. Expansion of physical health services including first aid.	7
3. Service for the mentally ill and drug addicted.	7
4. Employment and vocational training, in low cost, labor intensive industries.	6
5. An increase in police presence to protect street people who are victimized, reduce drug traffic and prostitution.	4
6. A transportation system to the County Hospital.	2
7. Advocacy.	2
8. Public facilities to make life livable, such as public toilets, better trash collection.	2
9. Visitation and counseling.	1
10. At least some things that are fun for people, like parks.	1
11. A bank, so that when people get money, they have a safe place to keep it.	1

Some of the 24 administrators indicated that there is now an overabundance of alcohol-related services and quite sufficient amounts of food, though people sometimes could not find their way to these services. Others indicated that lack of education was not a problem, though job readiness and skills were. Many were opposed to the addition of shelters (as compared to permanent housing), arguing that this would produce an over concentration of the poor.

Many social service providers also saw gaps at the systemic level. They pointed out that the social service network operates as a series of individual agencies and not as a system of services, so that there is no way to determine whether the changes that occur are directed toward the most acute needs and accomplished at least cost to the agencies and clients in the area. Prior efforts to achieve coordination, such as the CAMLA experience which is discussed above in the overview of mental health services, are widely viewed by providers as having been ineffective. According to their way of thinking, the particular areas where better coordination is most important include those shown below in Table II-13.

TABLE II-13
PROVIDERS' VIEWS OF PRIORITY COORDINATION NEEDS

1. Coordination of health and food management, so that people are kept relatively healthy in both nutritional and medical terms.
 2. A crisis intervention system to focus agency attention on people who need help right now.
 3. A Neighborhood Association built around a nucleus of the resident managers of the hotels in the immediate area.
 4. A centralized assessment facility which could help people when they arrive in the area and prevent them from getting trapped in it.
 5. A coordinated social support system designed to assist people to manage their lives -- to manage money, medication, a schedule, and personal hygiene.
 6. An agency which is responsible for a "continuum of care" i.e. an agency which follows a client -- even if he/she is served by several agencies -- from entry to independence.
-

Other providers, on the other hand, found the informal network of communication and coordination through personal relationships satisfactory, and stated that, since the primary sign of a need for better coordination -- i.e., duplication of services -- was not present, there is no pressing need to impose more structure.

Finally, most providers did not express the belief that the Skid Row population ought to be relocated elsewhere. They did see the need for other service centers in the County, so that the population of the Skid Row area does not continue to increase, and most said that they would support a deliberate scattering of social service facilities. However, in their view this should not be accompanied by any attempt to relocate current residents of the Skid Row area.



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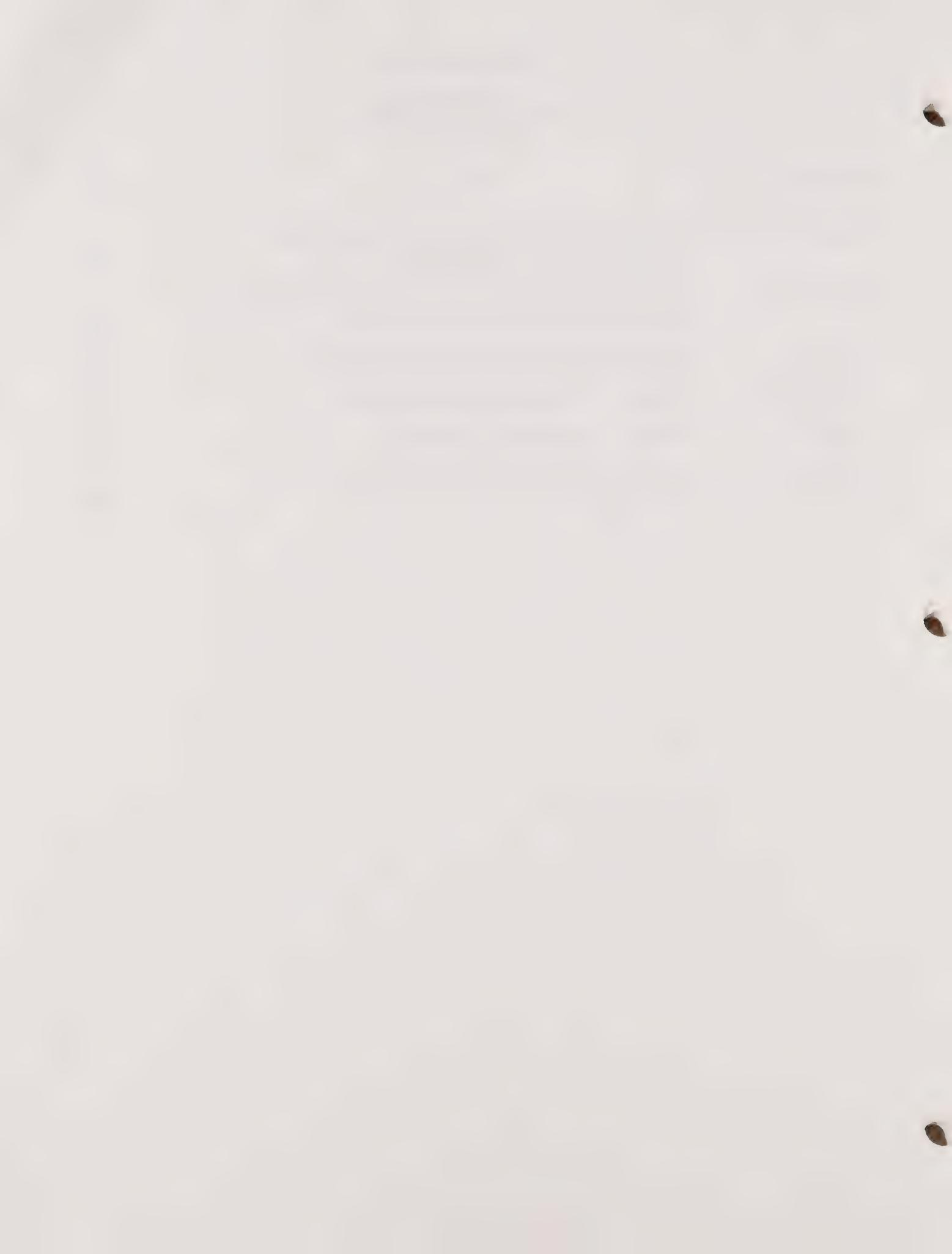
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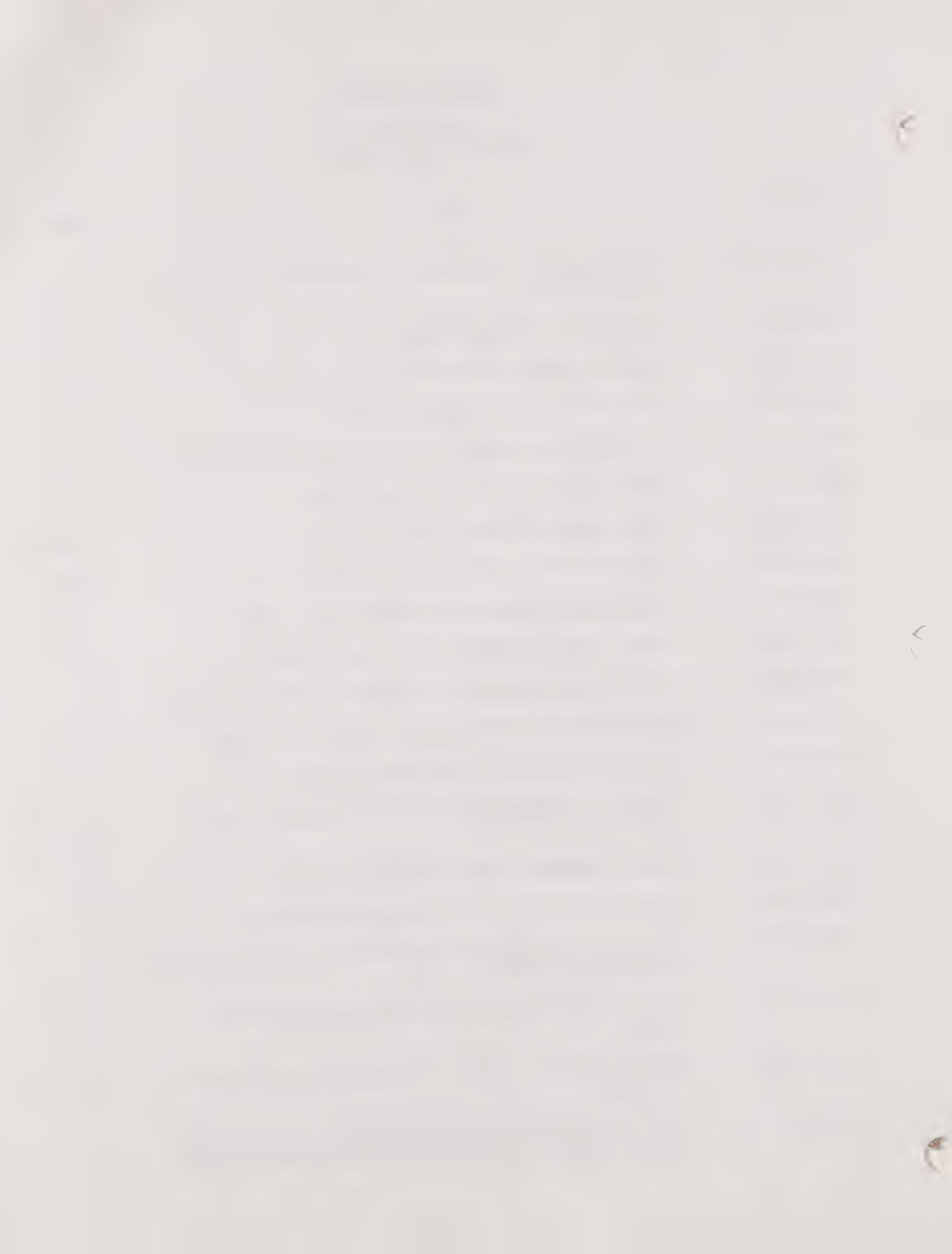
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VOLUME III SHELTER RESOURCES

AN INVENTORY OF SHELTER RESOURCES IN THE SKID ROW AREA

This Volume presents a comprehensive inventory of the existing shelter resources, including the housing stock and service providers supplying shelter, in the Skid Row area. "Shelter resources" are defined as including overnight sleeping accommodations (e.g., residential hotels, secular shelters, and missions), but excluding day centers (which, in some cases, provide bed facilities), makeshift outdoor shelters, and all-night services that are sometimes used for sleeping (e.g., movie theaters along Main Street and the Greyhound Bus Depot). The Volume first describes the context in which housing is provided in Skid Row. Separate sections then describe the hotels, secular shelters and missions, respectively. Each such section begins with an overview of the shelter situation, then analyzes the tenant mix and, in the cases of shelters and missions, then describes individual facilities. More detailed data on the characteristics of each facility are contained in Appendix 3. Like Volume II, this volume also includes an analysis of how shelter providers perceive gaps in the Skid Row shelter network. The Volume concludes with an assessment of the likely impact that the City's 1981 Seismic Safety Ordinance will have on the single room occupancy (SRO) component of the Skid Row shelter stock.

RESEARCH METHODS

The Housing Inventory rests on a relatively rich data base. In contrast to the scarcity of data on social service agencies and on the demography of Skid Row, many shelter-related surveys have produced information on the Skid Row area over the past 20 years. In 1968, CRA, under the auspices of the Federal Urban Renewal Program, conducted an Urban Renewal Feasibility Study to establish the costs and potential of relocating Central City East residents and businesses in order to clear the area for redevelopment. The study contains a parcel by parcel land use inventory, building condition assessments, and interviews with 650 business owners/managers and 307 residents. This provides a baseline from which to measure changes in the shelter stock over the past 18 years. Comparisons with these data are made throughout this Volume.

In 1975, the Los Angeles Community Design Center prepared a position paper entitled The Containment Strategy Proposal, as part of an exercise that generated a set of recommendations to the Skid Row Task Force. This Task Force was an advisory group to the Central Business District (CBD) Redevelopment Project Citywide Citizens Advisory Committee, which was appointed by Mayor Bradley to recommend how the CRA should implement the CBD Redevelopment Plan that was adopted by the City Council in July, 1975. The position paper, which was ultimately endorsed by the CRA, called for providing more open space and other amenities in the Skid Row area as a way of reducing the tendency of area residents to wander through the western portions of the CBD. Data collected in the course of formulating the position paper also provide a useful benchmark for measuring change in the shelter stock.

In 1976, members of the Catholic Worker community and volunteers conducted the Catholic Worker Hotel Survey. They visited every residential hotel within and adjacent to the Central City East project area and completed data sheets on rent levels and other characteristics of the shelter stock. This survey is an important source for tracing changes in the shelter inventory since the 1968 Urban Renewal Survey, and for measuring changes in the shelter cost over the past 10 years.

In 1980, the Skid Row Development Corporation (SRDC) conducted another canvass of Skid Row area residential hotels, called herein the Skid Row Development Corporation Hotel Survey. This effort used a team of VISTA volunteers, many of whom were area residents. Survey teams interviewed each hotel manager and collected information on the characteristics of the hotel population, rent levels, and management.

In 1981, a study of non-profit residential hotel management by an SRDC intern also analyzed residential hotel management and ownership patterns and practices.¹ It expanded SRDC's preliminary concepts of non-profit management of Skid Row residential hotels.

In 1984, the SRO Housing Corporation conducted interviews with a random sample of 174 Skid Row hotel residents. This survey is referred to herein as the SRO Housing Corporation Hotel Tenant Survey. In 1985, the CRA prepared an inventory of all land parcels in the Central City East project area, which is referred to as the Development Framework Land Use Inventory.

These past studies indicate that in early 1986 there were about 68 residential hotels and apartment buildings in the Central City East project area, and 36 more within a few blocks of its boundaries. HR&A's research effort has been focused on correlating and updating information already available on these 104 buildings, and adding data to fill significant gaps.² The work summarized in this inventory adds three new sets of data: a telephone survey of residential hotel and apartment managers; structured interviews with a subset of managers; and structured interviews with owners. HR&A interviewed by telephone managers of 62 of the 104 hotel and apartment buildings within and adjacent to the Skid Row area.

¹Schmunk, Russell, Residential Hotel Management, unpublished Masters Degree Comprehensive Project. UCLA Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning, Los Angeles, 1981.

²In addition to the previously mentioned studies, 7 sets of public records were used to describe aspects of the shelter stock. They are:

Building Permits. The L. A. Department of Safety maintains a microfilm file of all building permits issued in the City of Los Angeles since 1905. A catalogue of permits was assembled for each building to show significant planned construction, repair, and demolition work performed;

County Assessor's Files. The Los Angeles County Assessor's Office maintains records of property ownership, sales data, assessed valuation and 1985 real estate tax status. All sales information since 1979 was reviewed and the relevant transactions catalogued;

County Recorder's Files. The Los Angeles County Recorder's office maintains property records showing sales and transfers. Microfilm files for all Skid Row area shelter sales transactions since 1977 were reviewed and catalogued. This procedure showed that 50% of the inventory had been sold at least once since 1977;

County Voucher Hotel Data. The County Department of Public Social Services (DPSS) provided a record of all payments to Voucher-Vendor hotels between 1978 and 1986, and monthly listings of Voucher-Vendor participating buildings since 1978;

County Health Department Files. The County Department of Health Services makes regular inspections of all hotel and institutional facilities. Records for 1985 and 1986 inspections were reviewed and summarized;

City Rent Stabilization Office Registration List. Residential hotels and apartment buildings in the Skid Row area are required to comply with the City's rent stabilization regulations under certain circumstances. A listing of registered units since 1979 was provided to HR&A;

City Attorney's Slum Housing Task Force Enforcement Records. Staff from the L. A. City Attorney's office provided data on the status of enforcement actions against Skid Row area property owners in persistent violation of City housing, rent stabilization, and building code regulations.

(Two of the 104 buildings had been demolished; contact could not be made with 31 managers; and nine refused interviews.) The interviews were used to resolve discrepancies among past studies about building names and addresses, numbers of dwelling units per building, rent levels, and ownership, and to derive a final working definition of the "Skid Row area" hotel and apartment stock.³ A complete list of these buildings and their major characteristics is included in Appendix 3 of Volume IV.

Personal interviews were then conducted with managers of a random sample of 25 Skid Row area hotel and apartment buildings representing approximately 31% of all buildings, and 42% of all units. (One manager refused the interview; the remaining 24 managers were paid ten dollars to complete the interview.) This survey gathered information about tenant characteristics, management arrangements, operating costs, participation in the voucher system operated by the County Department of Public and Social Services (DPSS), and compliance with the City's seismic safety ordinance. Table III-1 describes the general characteristics of the 25 surveyed buildings.

In order to better understand the financial characteristics of these buildings, a questionnaire was also mailed to the owners of the 62 residential hotels and apartments included in the telephone survey. The owners of 18 buildings responded to this questionnaire; 12 of the buildings are located in Skid Row and 6 within a few blocks of the Skid Row area. Three responding Skid Row area buildings are owned by SRO Housing Corporation.

HR&A is grateful for the generous assistance provided by staff of the SRO Housing Corporation, which provided access to its inventory of residential hotels. The owners, managers, and desk clerks of the hotels and apartments were also exceptionally cooperative. Managers, in particular, made time available in the midst of their often hectic daily routines to respond to questions. Representatives of various City and County offices were also generous with their time and resources, and frequently offered candid views on shelter issues in the Skid Row area. These included people from divisions of the County's Department of Public Social Services, the Office of the County Chief Administrative Officer, the County Department of Health Services, the Offices of the County Assessor and Recorder, the City Police and Fire Departments, the City Department of Building and Safety, the City Division of Rent Stabilization and the City Attorney's Office.

³This working definition includes the CRA's Central City East project boundaries, plus one block in all directions (i.e., centerline of 2nd Street to 8th Street and Spring Street to just east of Alameda). The definition excludes approximately 20 buildings with an undetermined number of units which have previously been identified as Skid Row-like SROs, but are located more than one block outside the CCE project area. There may in fact be more such buildings. No attempt was made to produce a complete list of such SROs as part of this study.

TABLE III-1
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 1986 MANAGER SURVEY SAMPLE

Building Name	TENANT TYPES ^a			HOUSEHOLD TYPES ^a		PROGRAM PARTICIPATION			BUILDING SIZE		
	Main St. Related	Skid Row Related	Latino Related	Mostly Singles	Mostly Families	Voucher List	Seismic List	-30 Units	31-60 Units	61-100 Units	101+ Units
Bixby Hotel	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Blaine Hotel				X	X				X	X	
Brownstone					X						
Delo Apts.		X	X		X			X			X
Dewey Apt.	X	X			X				X	X	
Ellis Hotel	X	X			X				X	X	
El Sol					X				X	X	
Eugene	X	X			X						X
Frontier	X	X			X						X
Huntington			X		X						
Indiana		X	X		X						
King Edward		X	X		X						
New Terminal		X	X		X						
Norbo Hotel	X				X						
Ohio Hotel		X			X						
Panama	X				X						
Pennsylvania		X			X						
Roma Hotel	X	X			X						
Roslyn		X			X						
St. Agnes		X			X						
San Julian	X	X			X			X		X	
Ward	X	X			X			X		X	
Weldon											

^aThe 1986 CRA staff research identified three primary tenant types in Skid Row area SROs: a "rougher" street population which reportedly preys on other Skid Row inhabitants; a more traditional Skid Row population of single, older males; and Spanish-speaking individuals and families. SROs are classified according to this schema if it is composed of at least 50% of an SRO's population.

Source: CRA (1985)

AN OVERVIEW OF THE SKID ROW SHELTER STOCK

The shelter stock resources in Skid Row range across a continuum from emergency shelter, to transitional shelter, to permanent housing. These resources are of three types: residential hotels and apartment buildings (commonly referred to as "single room occupancy," or SRO housing), secular shelters and missions. There are, in addition, a few artists' studios primarily comprised of loft space on upper floors of industrial buildings. The CRA's Development Framework Land Use Inventory identified seven such buildings containing an undetermined number of artists. Conversation with realtors familiar with the area indicated that, despite the 1982 City ordinance legalizing artist live-work spaces in industrial zones and the increased theater activity along Boyd Street and Spring Street, there has been no significant increase in the number of artists living in the Skid Row area since 1982.

As their name implies, the SROs consist primarily of single sleeping rooms with common sanitary facilities. There are approximately 6,767 such dwelling units in about 80 buildings of varying sizes in the Skid Row area, making them the most numerically significant component of the shelter stock.

Skid Row contains five secular shelters, all of which have been developed since 1980 by private, non-profit corporations using City, State and Federal funds. They offer shelter and a range of services to both men and women and, as their collective referent implies, they differ from the missions in that they require no religious participation in order to obtain services. Approximately 1,200 beds are currently available in the five secular shelters.

There are six missions, facilities that are part of a historic legacy attached to the Skid Row area from its beginnings in the late nineteenth century. These facilities currently provide about 1,000 beds for men only, and some provide a range of other support services. Missions are, by definition, concerned not only with food and shelter, but also with spiritual uplift through religious guidance. Table III-2 summarizes the dimension of the Skid Row area shelter resource inventory of SRO dwelling units and secular shelter and mission beds.

**TABLE III-2
SHELTER BEDS IN THE SKID ROW AREA, 1986**

	<u>Rooms/Beds</u>
Missions ^a	1,003
Secular Shelters ^b	1,193
Hotels/Apts. ^c	8,459
Total	10,655

^aDoes not include space for approximately 600 people to sleep in chairs and chapel pews at the Union Rescue Mission.

^bDoes not include 48 beds in the recently opened Downtown Women's Center Shelter, nor an 18-bed shelter planned by the L. A. Men's Place.

^c6,767 dwelling units in 80 buildings located within one block of the CCE boundaries; assumes 1.25 occupants per unit.

Source: HR&A (1986)

SINGLE ROOM OCCUPANCY HOUSING

OVERVIEW

This section presents an inventory of the privately owned and operated residential hotel and apartment building component of the Skid Row area shelter stock. Both hotels and apartment buildings in this part of the City are distinguishable from those elsewhere in Los Angeles by their unique physical arrangements, their age, their comparatively low rents, and by a set of peculiar real estate submarket characteristics. Collectively, this form of shelter is generally referred to as "single room occupancy" (SRO) housing because of its characteristic structure: small, single, furnished rooms; common bathroom facilities; and some management services, such as regular linen or housekeeping service, and other services provided by a regular desk clerk. Some feature lobbies that play important roles in the social lives of building tenants.

Most of these buildings were constructed as tenements or rooming houses in the early 1900's, or subsequently converted to SROs in response to residential demand from transient laborers who inhabited the area. The buildings include a significant number of unreinforced masonry structures that are now required to comply with the City's seismic safety ordinance. (See the concluding section of this Volume for a complete discussion of this issue.) More than any other physical or social aspect of the area, it is these residential hotels and apartments, and the tenants to whom they cater, which most define the character of the Skid Row area.

The SRO stock is old and shrinking. Although the Los Angeles Skid Row area has remained physically intact far longer than similar areas in other major cities, like its counterparts elsewhere, it did experience a wave of demolition activities in the 1950s. A code enforcement campaign carried on between 1955 and 1959 resulted in the destruction of approximately 5,000 residential hotel dwelling units and apartments.⁴ Another 2,000 units were demolished during the 1960s and 1970s. This activity has slowed considerably in recent years. Today, there are approximately 6,767 SRO units in 80 buildings within one block of the CRA-defined boundaries of Central City East (see Figures III-1 and III-2). According to City Building and Safety Department permit data, no new SRO residential construction has occurred in at least four decades in this part of the City,⁵ although building rehabilitation and conversions of use have occurred during this time period.

Single room occupancy tenants have been characterized as a "society of the alone"⁶: primarily single, poor, older men, many with physical or emotional disabilities who purposely choose to live in a setting which places few of the demands of traditional household and community responsibilities on its inhabitants. While this characterization may have been true for Los Angeles Skid Row area SRO tenants in previous decades, more recent studies indicate that the SRO population, like that of the Skid Row area population in general, is changing. A 1984 survey of a sample of SRO tenants found that, while the vast majority were single males (91%) and poor, almost half were under 40 years old (45%), and blacks outnumbered whites (47% vs. 37%). As noted in previous volumes, this portrait is generally confirmed by interviews with the sample of hotel and apartment managers. The interviews also showed that only a small percentage of these units are being rented by families.

⁴Urban Renewal Feasibility Study, op cit., p.5.

⁵Ballington Plaza, an SRO-like complex developed by Volunteers of America with CRA funds, is classified as a "secular shelter" for purposes of this Report due to the extensive social services support system available to Ballington residents.

⁶See Shapiro, J., Communities of the Alone, New York, Association Press, 1971.

FIGURE III-1
LOCATIONS OF SKID ROW AREA SROs WITHIN
CRA's CENTRAL CITY EAST PROJECT BOUNDARIES, 1986



FIGURE III-2
LOCATIONS OF SKID ROW AREA SROs
WITHIN ONE BLOCK OF CRA's
CENTRAL CITY EAST BOUNDARIES, 1986



The rent structure in these residential hotels and apartments also sets them apart from those in other neighborhoods. Here, rooms are available on a daily, weekly or monthly basis. While rental rates per se are reportedly lower per dwelling unit than at any other location in the City, rents have been escalating in recent years despite the absence of typical apartment amenities. Median monthly rent has increased by 344% over the past 17 years, and has doubled since 1980. Vacancy rates have dropped markedly since 1969, when 22% of the units were vacant; by 1986, the average vacancy rate was about 5%. Market segmentation within the SRO housing stock, shortages of affordable rental housing in other areas of the City and demolitions and conversions of the Skid Row area housing stock are likely explanations for the rapid escalations in rents between 1976 and 1986. In addition, current rents are also probably responding to recent increases in the County's Vendor-Voucher reimbursement rate, which, until very recently, affected a significant percentage of the SRO stock. Despite their relatively low rents, SRO tenants are clearly paying an unusually large percentage of their income for shelter. Based on available estimates of mid-decade Skid Row area household income of about \$4,823 (\$402/month) and 1986 median rent of \$200 per month, Skid Row area SRO tenants may be paying as much as 50% of income for rent, or nearly twice the standard customarily defined as reasonable by government housing officials.

Housing conditions and quality in the Skid Row SROs have been the subject of considerable attention in recent years, particularly in those buildings which participate in the County's Vendor-Voucher program. While some Skid Row area SROs are clearly well-kept and maintained, many are in very poor condition. In part, this simply reflects the fact that most of these buildings have been in continuous rental use for the past 50 to 75 years. Their internal operating systems are frequently below current standards, and many have been repeatedly modified without professional workmanship. Many buildings have also suffered fire damage of varying degrees, and some have been damaged by earthquake activity. Despite inspections by the County Department of Health Services, the City Fire Department, and the City Department of Building and Safety, habitability is notoriously poor in most SROs. A recent lawsuit against Los Angeles County filed on behalf of several voucher recipients presented voluminous detail in support of allegations of unhealthful and unsafe conditions in some of the voucher hotels.⁷ Some Skid Row area SROs have been referred to the City Attorney's Interagency Slum Housing Task Force for investigation and/or prosecution of owners for repeated code violations.

INVENTORY OF THE SKID ROW SINGLE ROOM OCCUPANCY (SRO) STOCK

Four residential hotel and apartment surveys prepared between 1969 and 1986⁸ provide data for comparing changes in the size of the Skid Row area SRO shelter stock. As shown in Table III-3, they indicate that there has been a 31.0% decline in the size of the residential hotel and apartment building stock over the years 1969-86, and a 25.6% decline in units. The largest decline, comprising about 22% of buildings and 12% of units, occurred between 1969 and 1976. Most of the total decline is the result of demolitions, but it also reflects a few conversions from SRO to other uses, such as that of the El Rey Hotel to the Weingart Center.⁹

⁷Paris v. Board of Supervisors, Case No. C523361, August 12, 1986.

⁸The four surveys are: Vander Kooi, op. cit., 1969; Catholic Worker Hotel Survey (unpublished), 1976; Skid Row Development Corporation (SRDC) Hotel Manager Survey (unpublished), 1980; HR&A Hotel and Manager Survey conducted for this Report, 1986.

Each inventory used a slightly different definition of the Skid Row area. Also, individual buildings may have been undergoing renovation or have suffered damage at the time each survey was completed. Therefore, dwelling unit counts for the same building may vary somewhat from one survey to another. Further, several hotels have experienced one or more name changes over this time period, and address numbers are not always consistent between the surveys.

⁹While this conversion officially took it out of the SRO stock, the Weingart Center continues to house a large number of people, as described in a later section of this Volume.

Lately, demolition and conversion activity has largely been occurring in buildings on the outer edges of the CRA's CCE boundaries.¹⁰

TABLE III-3
CHANGES IN THE SKID ROW AREA RESIDENTIAL HOTEL
AND APARTMENT STOCK, 1969-1986

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1986</u>
Buildings Within CRA CCE Boundaries				
Number of Buildings	103	78	73	69
Number of Units	7,310	6,180	5,832	5,100
Buildings Within One Block of Boundaries				
Number of Buildings	13	13	13	11
Number Of Units	1,787	1,787	1,787	1,667
Total Number of Buildings	116	91	86	80
Total Number of Units	9,097	7,967	7,619	6,767

Source: Vander Kooi (1969), Catholic Worker (1976), SRDC (1980), HR&A (1986)

The demolition activity between 1969 and 1976 included, along with more ordinary changes, removal of five hotels, containing 378 units, to make way for the Los Angeles Police Department's Central Division Headquarters building. Building permit data indicate that demolitions between 1976 and 1981 resulted primarily from fire damage to the Alda, Waterville and Roberts Hotels, and from the new commercial development which replaced the Brown Hotel. During this same period, the Delux Hotel was converted to artist studios and the El Rey Hotel was closed for the aforementioned conversion into the Weingart Center. Between 1981 and 1986, three other Skid Row area SROs were demolished: the Chapman Hotel, which is now a parking lot; the Brown Lee Apartment building, which is now the site of a new commercial building; and the Lory Apartments are now a parking lot. As for changes that are in immediate prospect, the Howell and Star Hotels will be sites of new parking structures and the Alan Hotel near Little Tokyo is closed and reportedly will be demolished for new commercial development. It has also been rumored that the Indiana and Hart Hotels will be demolished in the near future.¹¹

¹⁰ Subsequent to preparation of this Report, the City Council enacted a six month moratorium on SRO rent increases and building demolitions.

¹¹ Since this Report was prepared the Alan and Indiana Hotels have actually been demolished, and the owners of the Blaine and Doane Hotels have been issued demolition permits.

The SRO buildings vary in size from fifteen units to 650 units. As Table III-3A indicates, buildings located within CRA's Central City East project area are generally smaller than those on the edges of the project area, with the largest buildings located near Main and Spring Streets. The median size for all buildings is 57 units, the average is 82 units.

**TABLE III-3A
SIZE DISTRIBUTION OF SKID ROW AREA SROS**

	<u>% within CCE Boundaries</u>	<u>% within One Block</u>	<u>% All Bldgs</u>
20 Units	1.2%	6.3%	5.1%
21 - 40 Units	23.8	12.5	21.5
41 - 60 Units	44.4	6.3	36.7
61 - 80 Units	11.1	25.0	13.9
81 - 100 Units	6.3	6.3	6.3
100 - 200 Units	4.8	18.8	7.6
201 - 400 Units	3.2	18.8	6.3
Over 400 Units	1.6	6.3	2.5
Total	100%	100%	100%

Source: HR&A (1986)

RENTAL STRUCTURE

SRO rooms have historically been available for rent on a daily, weekly, or monthly basis, although not all SROs offer all three options. Two opposite trends have been observed in recent times with regard to rental patterns. Some SROs have stopped renting units by the month, reportedly in order to avoid becoming subject to the City's Rent Stabilization Ordinance. Others are now renting rooms by the month only, apparently in the belief that this procedure attracts more stable tenants.

As shown in Table III-4, median rent levels increased by 344% between 1969 and 1986 for SROs which rent rooms by the month.

TABLE III-4
MONTHLY SKID ROW AREA SRO ROOM RENTS, 1969-1986
 (for buildings that rent rooms by the month)

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1986</u>
\$ 20- 39	30%			
40- 59	51%	47%		
60- 79	19%	50%	18%	
80- 99		3%	29%	
100-119			18%	
120-139			25%	5%
140-159				5%
160-179			4%	9%
180-199				20%
200-219				20%
220-239				9%
240-259			4%	20%
260-279				6%
280-299				
300+				5%
Median Rent	\$45	\$60	\$100	\$200

Source: Vander Kooi (1969), Catholic Worker Survey (1976), SRDC Survey (1980), HR&A (1986)

Rates of increase in monthly rents in Skid Row area SROs increased from 4.7% per year between the 1969 and 1976 surveys, to a rate of 16.7% per year between the 1980 and 1986 surveys. The average monthly rental increased by a cumulative total of 344% over the entire period 1969-86. Thus, the cost of an SRO room in Skid Row is increasing faster than other measures of living costs, such as the Consumer Price Index, which increased by 204% during the same period. As noted in earlier volumes of this Report, SRO rent is also increasing faster than the public benefit payments, upon which many SRO residents rely, such as General Relief, which increased 184% during the same period. Comparisons to these and other rates are shown in Table III-5 below.¹²

¹²By comparison, while median SRO rent increased 344% from 1976 to 1986, average contract rent increased 116% for all Los Angeles apartments between 1977 and 1984. Hamilton, Rabinovitz & Alschuler, Rental Housing Study. Los Angeles: Community Development Department (1985).

TABLE III-5
INCREASES IN SKID ROW AREA MEDIAN MONTHLY RENT
COMPARED TO OTHER MONTHLY COSTS AND INCOME

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>% Inc 69-76</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>% Inc 76-80</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>% Inc 80-86</u>	Total <u>% Inc 69-86</u>
Median SRO Rent	\$ 45	\$ 60	33.3%	\$100	66.7%	\$200	100.0%	+344.4%
Consumer Price Index ^a	109	168	54.1	247	47.0	331	34.0	+203.7
General Relief Supplemental	87	161	85.1	205	27.0	247	20.5	+183.9
Security Income	N/A	276	N/A	356	30.0	553	55.3	N/A
Minimum Wage	1.60	2.50	56.3	3.10	24.0	3.35	8.2	+109.4

^aL. A.-Long Beach SMSA -- All Urban Consumers.

Source: HR&A (1986)

Median 1979 monthly household income in the Skid Row area was \$390 in 1980 according to the Census. Therefore, a Skid Row SRO tenant was paying about 25.6% of his/her income for shelter, based on the median monthly rent for that year. The only available mid-decade estimate of Skid Row area median household income is that prepared by the Southern California Association of Governments (SCAG), which estimates 1985 medium annual household income to be about \$4,823 (\$402 per month).¹³ Thus, Skid Row area SRO tenants may now be paying 50% or more of their monthly income for shelter. For those tenants whose income is limited to General Relief, median rent is equal to 81% of monthly income. This does not mean that recipients actually pay this share, but that they must find charitable or other subsidized goods and services in order to keep housing from consuming this level of their monthly income.

Another important gauge of the Skid Row SRO rental market is the change in vacancy rates. Based on the same four surveys, between 1969 and 1986 the vacancy rate has dropped from approximately 22.2% to 5.2%, indicating a very tight housing market, as against a relatively loose market at the end of the 1960s.¹⁴ Several managers indicated that, like the area population in general, vacancy rates are higher in the summer months and lower during the winter.

¹³The SCAG estimate and forecast to the year 2010 are contained in its report entitled Population, Housing, Employment and Income Profile Report, Level F, Version 1, dated June 7, 1985. As previously noted in Chapter II of this Report, these SCAG estimates are projections of census-based estimates of housing expansion, which may not be as accurate for Skid Row as for other parts of the City. The SCAG median household income figure used here is a simple average between the 1985 estimates for Tract 2062 (\$4,459 per year; \$372 per month) and for Tract 2063 (\$5,186 per year; \$432 per month). The only other available mid-decade income estimate is that reported by SRO Housing Corporation's 1984 interview survey of SRO tenants. The preliminary report of findings does not include median household income, but mean monthly personal income by age and other demographic characteristics. A weighted average of the mean by age yields a mean monthly income for all respondents of \$348. This figure may be skewed in an unknown direction, however, because the respondents were asked only about their income during the month prior to the interview, rather than about their income for the prior year.

¹⁴The vacancy rates were calculated by comparing 31 buildings within one block of CRA's CCE boundaries for which occupancy figures are available in previously cited surveys, including HR&A's 1986 telephone survey.

Rents vary considerably throughout Skid Row and this variation has been growing, as Table III-4 illustrated. Market segmentation within the Skid Row area can explain some of this variation.¹⁵ There are several different tenant subgroups, occupying buildings which have different operating costs and incomes. Although about half the buildings include a mixture of tenant types, many hotels seem to cater mostly to certain predominant types, as the tenant characteristic data presented below indicates. Factors affecting differences in rent levels include an individual owner's debt position (with those transactions taking place during the inflationary spiral of the late 1970s and early 1980s having the most impact on rents), competition for housing induced by decreases in availability in other low income neighborhoods (such as the South Central area of Los Angeles) and the decline in total supply of units in Skid Row. Monthly rents also vary within the same building according to the number of people per room, to location within the building and to the amenities provided. Long-term tenants also frequently pay rents that are below the rates charged others. Security deposits are required by some SROs for monthly rent arrangements, and key deposits apply to many daily, weekly and monthly arrangements.

SRO units are subject to the City's Rent Stabilization Ordinance if units are available for rent to the same person for at least 60 days. As Table III-6 indicates, since the ordinance went into effect in 1979, the number of registered units has nearly doubled. In 1986, approximately 22% of all units within one block of the CCE boundaries were registered. There are at least some registered units in 56% of the Skid Row SRO building stock.

In some buildings, all units are registered, while in others, only a few are, depending on the pattern of tenant tenure, and probably on an owner's understanding of the rent stabilization law.

TABLE III-6
RENT STABILIZATION REGISTRATION, 1979-1986

	<u># Bldgs w/ Registered Units</u>	<u>Total Units</u>	<u>Registered Units</u>
1979	19	1,212	818
1980	29	2,014	1,205
1981	28	1,781	832
1982	32	2,669	1,250
1983	37	2,949	1,381
1984	41	3,137	1,300
1985	42	3,331	1,412
1986	45	3,547	1,499

Source: City of Los Angeles Rent Stabilization Division (1986)

¹⁵ Schmunk, op. cit., pp. 31-33.

HOUSING QUALITY

Three public agencies have responsibility for inspecting the SRO stock to ensure that minimum health and safety conditions established by City and County ordinances are achieved and maintained. The County Department of Health Services enforces health regulations through regular inspections by its Environmental Management Division. The City Fire Department also inspects SROs on a regular basis to ensure compliance with City fire code regulations. The City Building and Safety Department is responsible for enforcing building code regulations, including the seismic safety ordinance. Since 1980, all three agencies have established a coordinated working relationship through the Los Angeles Interagency Slum Housing Task Force, which was organized by the City Attorney's Office. Skid Row is one of the group's primary areas of attention. In addition, those SROs which participate in the County's Vendor-Voucher program are also subject to compliance with minimum habitability standards established by the County Department of Public Social Services. The level of compliance has been the subject of several lawsuits, the most recent being Paris v. Board of Supervisors.

County Health Department Inspections

All Skid Row area SROs, to the extent that they are legally classified as "hotels" or "institutions" (a definition which includes missions and most secular shelters), are subject to Public Health Code standards enforced by the Environmental Management Division of the County Department of Health Services (DHS). DHS policy is for hotels and institutions to be routinely inspected at least twice a year, and twice each month for those facilities participating in the Vendor-Voucher program.¹⁶ In addition, complaint-generated inspections are also made. During routine inspections, DHS inspectors typically visit the public areas of a hotel and a random sample of hotel rooms to determine whether the building meets minimum standards established by County law. Complaint inspections are focused on the subject or room of the complaint. Using a computer-coded checklist, the inspector notes any substandard conditions. If a violation notice is issued, the owner has 30 days to make the necessary corrections, and the building is re-inspected at that time. If substantial compliance is not achieved within the 30-day time limit, plus any reasonable time extensions that are granted, an "office hearing notice" with DHS may be issued. At such an office conference, the owner is advised that a criminal complaint will be made to the City or District Attorney if the violations are not corrected by a specific date. If the matter is turned over to the City or to the District Attorney, a hearing may be called with the owner prior to officially filing criminal charges.

HR&A's review of 1985 and 1986 DHS inspection records for 60 Skid Row area SROs¹⁷ indicates that the frequency of routine DHS inspections has apparently not matched DHS policies, both for those SROs participating in the DPSS voucher program and those SROs which did not participate. Table III-7 indicates that for about two-thirds of the 49 non-voucher SROs in 1985 and of the 53 non-voucher SROs in 1986, less than two routine inspections were apparently made. In 1985, 11 SROs apparently received no inspections, nor did 20 SROs thus far in 1986.¹⁸

¹⁶L. A. County Department of Health Services, Environmental Management, Policy and Operations Manual, "Class B and Vendor Hotel/Motel Inspection," No. 315.03, dated March 1, 1985.

¹⁷The other 20 Skid Row area SROs include those technically classified as "apartments" and therefore subject to different inspection requirements (5 cases), those which have been closed for renovation during significant portions of 1985 or 1986 (3 cases), and those for which records were not available during the period of HR&A's review (12 cases).

¹⁸By comparison, 4 of 6 missions received only one inspection in 1985 while 2 others received 2 inspections; during 1986, 2 received two inspections, two received one inspection and two received none. Most of the secular shelters, particularly those participating in the DPSS contract shelter program, received numerous inspections during both years.

TABLE III-7
FREQUENCY OF ROUTINE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH SERVICES
INSPECTIONS OF NON-VOUCHER SKID ROW AREA SROS, 1985-1986

# Routine Inspections^a	1985		1986	
	#	%	#	%
0	11	22	20	38
1	22	45	16	30
2	8	16	12	23
3	3	6	3	6
4-6	3	6	0	0
7-9	2	4	1	2
10+	2	4	1	2
Total	49	103%	53	101%

^aThose SROs receiving higher numbers of inspections are those which received DPSS vouchers, but for less than nine months of each respective year.

Source: L.A. County Department of Health Services, Housing and Institutions Section (1985, 1986)

All voucher SROs¹⁹ received routine DHS inspections during 1985 and 1986, but few apparently received the 18-24 bi-weekly inspections intended by DHS policy, as shown in Table III-7A.

TABLE III-7A
FREQUENCY OF ROUTINE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH SERVICES
INSPECTIONS OF SKID ROW AREA VOUCHER SROS, 1985-1986

# Routine Inspections	1985		1986	
	#	%	#	%
4-6	2	17	1	14
7-9	3	25	1	14
10-12	3	25	3	43
13-15	3	25	1	14
16-19	1	8	1	14
Total	12	100%	7	99%

Source: L.A. County Department of Health Services, Housing and Institutions Section (1985, 1986)

¹⁹For purposes of this analysis, an SRO was considered a "voucher SRO" if it participated in DPSS' voucher program for at least nine months of each calendar year. For 1985, 13 SROs fit this definition and data were available for 12; for 1986, 8 SROs fit the definition and data were available for 7.

DHS inspectors responded to 215 health code violation complaints from various parties at these same 60 SROs in 1985 and 1986, and inspectors actually found violations in 82% of these cases. The number of complaints about non-voucher hotels increased about 17% from 1985 to 1986, and for voucher hotels the total number of complaints dropped slightly (-6.5%), but there were also only 7 voucher hotels among the 1986 group versus 12 in the 1985 group.

In terms of the type of health code violations found by DHS during 1985 and 1986, during both routine and complaint-generated inspections in the same 60 SROs, wall and ceiling violations (e.g., holes or other physical damage) were the most numerous, followed by vermin, maintenance and furnishings (e.g., soiled mattresses). As Table III-7B indicates, 12.6% fewer total violations were found in these SROs in 1986 than 1985, with numerical declines in almost all violation categories, particularly occupancy (i.e., too many people per dwelling unit) which declined by two-thirds. Significant violation increases between these two years occurred in fire safety (+30.5%), hot and cold water (+121.6%) and furnishings (+34.9%).²⁰

TABLE III-7B
FREQUENCY OF HEALTH VIOLATIONS IN SKID ROW AREA
SRO ROOMS, 1985-1986

Violation Type	1985	1986	1985-86 % Change
	#	%	
Wiring	210	4.7%	-37.1%
Plumbing	300	6.7	-47.3%
Fire Safety	118	2.6	+30.5%
Floor	535	11.9	-15.7%
Walls & Ceiling	1,279	28.5	-18.3%
Light & Ventilation	56	1.2	-62.5%
Occupancy	149	3.3	-67.8%
Vermin	604	13.5	-12.3%
Hot & Cold Water	74	1.6	+121.6%
Toilet	49	1.1	-75.5%
Heat	75	1.7	-4.0%
Sink	67	1.5	-29.9%
Bath	41	0.9	-80.5%
Cooking	71	1.6	-1.4%
Maintenance	513	11.4	+ 6.2%
Furnishings	347	7.7	+34.9%
Total	4,488	100.0%	-12.6%

Source: L.A. Department of Health Services, Housing and Institutions Section (1985, 1986)

²⁰It should be noted that different inspectors may classify the same violation under different categories, and therefore these totals are probably best viewed in terms of somewhat more general categories, such as the combination of plumbing, hot and cold water, toilet, sink and bath.

City Fire Department Inspections

The City Fire Department's Fire Prevention Unit is responsible for the inspection of all hotels of six or more floors. Individual fire station personnel inspect buildings of five or fewer floors. Each hotel property receives a full "walk through" inspection once a year. The purpose of this annual inspection is to ensure that all fire safety equipment is working properly and that it has been tested at least once in the previous five years (except for fire alarms, which must be tested monthly by the building manager). Proper exiting, storage and aisle clearances are also reviewed.

When violations occur, Department personnel issue 15-day citations, which can be extended when reasonable progress is being made on corrective work. However, for life threatening violations, "forthwith" citations may be issued that require immediate action. If there is no evidence of good faith compliance, violators may be referred to the City Attorney for misdemeanor prosecution. The most common code violations in Skid Row area SROs, according to Fire Department personnel, are for missing or empty fire extinguishers, missing fire hose nozzles, locked or blocked exits, inoperative smoke detectors, illegal cooking equipment and accumulated combustible trash.

Following a disastrous 1984 fire in the crowded Dorothy Mae Hotel in another part of the Central Business District, the Los Angeles City Council amended the City Fire and Building Codes to require additional fire safety features in all dwelling units and several new buildings of three or more stories.²¹ The ordinance requires that fire safety notices containing exiting and other instructional information (both in English and any other primary language if a substantial number of occupants are non-English speaking) be posted in specified public locations, including a statement that tampering with smoke detectors or setting false alarms constitutes a misdemeanor. It also establishes new requirements for hotel-type occupancy categories concerning door closers and sprinkler systems. Further, the ordinance reduces the time limits for correcting any code violations cited by the Department of Building and Safety.

City Department of Building and Safety Inspections

Building inspectors do not make scheduled inspections of existing buildings, but respond to complaints from tenants or other inspection agencies that allege building code violations. These inspectors do inspect construction work in progress under active building permits. Under the "Dorothy Mae" amendments described above, the Department is responsible for enforcing compliance with these new fire safety regulations.

The Department's Earthquake Safety Division is responsible for all aspects of the City's Earthquake Hazard Mitigation Ordinance. The final sections of this Volume provide a complete discussion of this subject.

City Attorney's Interagency Slum Housing Task Force Operations

This organization was created in 1980 to better coordinate enforcement activities between the above agencies with respect to the most flagrant violators of City and County health and safety laws for residences. The group's primary geographic foci include Skid Row, Hollywood and South Central Los Angeles. Approximately 300 cases per year are referred to the Task Force for review. Violators referred to the Task Force are provided with a coordinated list of code violations and a time limit for making repairs. If the deadline, plus

²¹Ordinance No. 158,963, adopted May 15, 1984.

any extensions, is missed, criminal charges may be filed, even if the owner makes repairs subsequent to the filing of charges. A recent L.A. Times article on the Task Force states that the Task Force has not lost a case in six years.²² Nine Skid Row area SROs have been subjects of Task Force investigation.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SKID ROW AREA SINGLE ROOM OCCUPANCY TENANTS

In the 15 years between Vander Kooi's study²³ of the Skid Row residential population in 1969 and SRO Housing Corporation's study of SRO residents in 1984, the evidence indicates that the SRO tenant population, like that of the Skid Row area in general, became younger, and acquired a higher proportion of blacks. The data further suggest that current tenants tend to reside in the area for shorter time periods on the average. There is, in addition, some evidence that the number of families with children living in SROs has dropped since the early 1980s.

Age

As shown below in Table III-9, in 1969, about 10% of SRO residents were under 30 years of age, nearly two-thirds were between 30 and 60 and just over one-quarter were over 60. By 1984, in contrast, nearly the same share were in the 30-60 year old category, but the percent of those under 30 nearly doubled, while the percent of those over 60 declined by about half.

TABLE III-9
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SKID ROW AREA
SRO TENANTS, 1969 AND 1984

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1984</u>
Adults under 30 years old	9.8%	17.8%
30-39 years old	17.3%	27.6%
40-59 years old	44.1%	39.7%
60 and over	28.7%	14.9%
Total	100%	100%

Source: Vander Kooi (1969), SRO Housing Corporation (1984)

²²"Houses of Horror, 'Slum Busters' Cracking Down on Dangerous, Dilapidated Apartments," L.A. Times, Part III 1,6-7. (June 8, 1986).

²³Vander Kooi, op. cit. pp. 63-111. The author reported that 89% of his respondents lived in SRO hotels but it should be noted that 11% of the interview sample consisted of residents of missions and other non-hotel residential facilities.

In the 1980 SRDC survey of hotel managers, about 5% of the hotel population was estimated to be made up of children. Managers of 19 hotels (27%) indicated that at least 50% of their tenants were over 60 years old. In responding to HR&A's 1986 survey, as shown in Table III-10, six hotel managers (21%) reported children and/or teenagers living in their buildings, ranging from a low of 1% of all tenants to a high of 30%.

TABLE III-10
SKID ROW AREA SROs REPORTEDLY HOUSING
CHILDREN AND TEENAGERS, 1986
(estimated percentage of all tenants)

	<u>% Children</u>	<u>% Teenagers</u>
Dewey Apartments	2	2
El Sol Hotel	5	0
Frontier Hotel	20	10
Huntington Hotel	1	2
New Terminal Apartments	1	0
Rosslyn Hotel	2	0

Source: HR&A (1986)

According to staff at Las Familias del Pueblo, that organization has successfully relocated approximately 300 families from 20 buildings out of the Skid Row area during the past 3 1/2 years. Though this has clearly reduced the number of Skid Row resident children from what that number would otherwise have been, available data cannot confirm whether it has contributed to a net decrease in child population resulting from new immigration of families.

Manager responses to HR&A's request for an estimate of the age distribution of tenants in the sample of buildings surveyed yielded the age profile shown in Table III-11.²⁴

TABLE III-11
ESTIMATED AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SRO TENANTS, 1986
(percent of tenants in sample buildings)

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Children	165	5.8%
Teenagers	84	2.9%
Adults under 30 years old	776	27.1%
30-60 years old	1,608	58.0%
Over 60 years old	166	5.8%
Total	2,860	100%

Source: HR&A (1986)

²⁴It should be noted that SRO Housing Corporation received in 1986 slightly different estimates of adult tenant age distribution from 13 hotel managers in HR&A's 1986 sample. Using SRO Housing Corp's data, the sample's age distribution would be: 24.4% adults under 30; 52.9% 30-60; 12.0% over 60.

Gender

The picture of the Skid Row area as predominantly a male world is supported by surveys of the single room occupancy stock, although, as suggested in earlier volumes, there does seem to be an increase in the number of women in recent years (see Table III-12).

TABLE III-12
GENDER OF SKID ROW AREA SRO TENANTS,
1969 AND 1984
(percent of tenants)

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1984</u>
Male	94.8%	91.4%
Female	5.2%	8.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Vander Kooi (1969), SRO Housing Corporation (1984)

SRDC's 1980 survey found six predominantly Hispanic hotels (9%) and in these six hotels, half or more of the tenants were female. Although HR&A's survey did not inquire specifically about tenant gender, 15 managers (63%) reported the presence of single female tenants, ranging from a low of 1% (Ohio Hotel) to a high of 35% (Norbo Hotel), but 13 of the 15 managers reported 10% or fewer female tenants. In response to a question about recent changes in their tenant populations, several managers mentioned that they had more single women tenants in April, when the interviews were conducted, than during the entire previous year.²⁵

Race/Ethnicity

As indicated below in Table III-13, there was a large increase in the proportion of blacks, as a percentage of the SRO population between 1969 and 1984, and a corresponding decrease in the proportion of whites. The proportion of Hispanics in the SRO population nearly doubled during the same period, according to the surveys. Asians and American Indians have remained a very small segment of the hotel population, although the share represented by the numbers of both groups appears to have increased.

²⁵One manager of a hotel with a longtime reputation for catering to single elderly men indicated that it accepted its first female tenant about a year ago.

TABLE III-13
RACE AND ETHNICITY OF SKID ROW AREA SRO TENANTS,
1969 AND 1984
(percentage of all tenants)

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1984</u>
White	69.4%	37.0%
Black	21.7%	46.8%
Hispanic	7.2%	13.3%
Asian	1.0%	1.7%
American Indian	0.7%	1.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Vander Kooi (1969), SRO Housing Corporation (1984)

Different SRO hotels have somewhat different populations, but even so, the decline in the presence of whites as a proportion of the total SRO population appears to be pronounced. SRDC's 1980 survey only collected racial/ethnic data of SRO tenants according to managers' judgments about "the majority" of their tenants, but these responses permit comparison with HR&A data, as shown in Table III-13A.

TABLE III-13A
COMPARISON OF SRO MANAGERS' ESTIMATES OF RACIAL/ETHNIC
COMPOSITION OF THEIR TENANTS, 1980 AND 1986
(percentage of buildings reporting
majority^a racial/ethnic groups)

	<u>1980</u>	<u>1986</u>
Majority of Tenants are White	N=53 28%	N=21 10%
Majority of Tenants are Black	34%	52%
Majority of Tenants are Hispanic	38%	38%
Total	100%	100%

^a"Majority" = 51% or more

Source: SRDC Survey (1980), HR&A (1986)

In HR&A's survey, as shown in Table III-14, two hotels were reported to have a 60% or more white population, 11 were at least 60% black and six of these hotels were 90% or more black. Seven hotels were at least 60% Hispanic, six of which were 90% or more Hispanic.

TABLE III-14
ESTIMATED RACE AND ETHNICITY OF SRO TENANTS
IN SURVEYED BUILDINGS, 1986
(frequency of SRO manager response)

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Asian</u>	<u>Am. Ind.</u>
0-20%	17	10	13	24	24
21-40%	5	3	3	0	0
41-60%	0	0	1	0	0
61-80%	1	5	1	0	0
81-100%	1	6	6	0	0

Source: HR&A (1986)

Converting these responses into an estimate of residents who live in the sample of buildings surveyed, the racial/ethnic distribution is as shown in Table III-15.²⁶

TABLE III-15
ESTIMATED RACE AND ETHNICITY OF SRO TENANTS, 1986
(percent of tenants in sample buildings)

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
White	651	28.8%
Black	1,397	48.8%
Hispanic	770	26.9%
Asian	26	0.9%
Other	7	0.2%
Total	2,860	100.0%

Source: SRDC Survey (1980), HR&A (1986)

²⁶The higher share of Hispanics in this survey, compared to the 1984 survey, may reflect differences in sampling. HR&A's survey was based on a random sample of SRO buildings, while SRO Corporation's survey sample of SRO tenants was drawn from 30 hotels, excluding "family" hotels.

Density

SRO Housing Corporation's 1984 survey found that 86% of its respondents lived alone and that 14% shared a room, although data on the number of roommates is not available. This issue was not addressed by either the 1969 Vander Kooi survey or the 1980 SRDC survey. Since the question of density per dwelling unit is an important variable for estimating community population, the HR&A survey asked SRO managers to estimate the proportion of their tenants who were single men, single women, couples (man/woman or two men or two women) and families (three or more persons). As shown in Table III-16, four hotels reported significant percentages of couples (Frontier - 25%, Rosslyn - 30%, Huntington - 45%, San Julian - 95%), and six reported some percent of units with families.

TABLE III-16
SKID ROW AREA SRO HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS, 1986
(frequency of SRO manager response)

	<u>Single Men</u>	<u>Single Women</u>	<u>Couples^a</u>	<u>Families</u>
0-20%	1	22	19	23
21-40%	3	2	3	1
41-60%	2	0	1	0
61-80%	7	0	0	0
81-100%	11	0	1	0

^aMan/woman, two men or two women

Source: HR&A (1986)

Assuming, conservatively, an average of three persons per unit for those units with families, the average density for the 2,291 units contained in the survey sample of 24 responding buildings is 1.25 persons per dwelling unit. Applying this average density to all 6,767 SRO units in the Skid Row area would yield an SRO population of 8,459 at 100% occupancy of all dwelling units. Since there are probably some families of more than three persons, this estimate is correspondingly low.

Tenant Tenure

Both the 1969 and 1984 surveys addressed the issue of how long tenants had lived in their hotel or apartment, although each survey used slightly different units of time in its analysis. As shown in Table III-17, the surveys indicate that, over the fifteen years from 1969 to 1984, there was a trend toward more tenants remaining in their units for less than three years, and a corresponding drop in the share of tenants remaining in the same building for more than three years.

TABLE III-17
TENURE OF SKID ROW AREA SRO TENANTS, 1969 AND 1984
 (percent of tenants)

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1984^a</u>
Less than 6 Months	39.7%	42%
6-11 Months	13.1%	18%
1-3 Years	26.2%	28%
Over 3 Years	21.0%	9%

^aDoes not sum to 100% due to slight variation in time intervals from 1969 study.

Source: Vander Kooi (1969), SRO Housing Corp. (1984)

HR&A's survey of SRO managers also probed for an understanding of the tenure issue by household type, by race/ethnicity and by age distribution.²⁷ Managers of all SROs in the sample reported having tenants who had resided there for at least a year. Indeed, some hotel populations are reportedly dominated by longer term residents. At the Indiana Hotel, for example, 90% of the tenants were estimated to have lived there over one year; at the King Edward Hotel, the corresponding figure is 95%. Both hotels have predominantly single, older male tenants. Ten hotels reported having tenants with at least 6-10 years' tenure, of which three reported residents with more than 10 years tenure.

Managers were asked to consider the tenure of their single male tenants (the predominant household type among SRO tenants) and of their family tenants, believed to be a more recent Skid Row phenomenon. Table III-17A shows that the largest number of responses for both household types cluster in the period of one month to one year. Almost two thirds (63%) of managers believe their single male tenants reside in their SROs for one to twelve months; just over half (57%) of those managers with families believe their family tenants have lived in their buildings for the same period of time. Managers believe that a higher percentage of single men live in their buildings for less than one month than do managers housing families (21% versus 14%). Twenty-eight percent of managers with family tenants reported family tenure of over one year, including one of more than six years. Conversely, only 17% reported that single male tenants lived in their buildings for more than one year.

²⁷In considering these responses, however, it should be noted that the estimates of recently hired managers or new owners about the long-term tenure of residents may be imprecise, just as they were in SRDC's 1980 survey of hotel managers.

TABLE III-17A
SKID ROW AREA TENANT TENURE BY TENANT DENSITY, 1986
(frequency of SRO manager responses)

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1984</u>
Few Days Only	1	0
Few Weeks (but less than 1 Month)	4	1
1-6 Months	8	2
7-12 Months	7	2
1-5 Years	4	1
More than 6 Years	0	1
Total	24	7

Source: HR&A (1986)

Managers reported, as shown in Table III-18, that most of both their white and their black tenants had resided in the hotel for less than six months. Among longer-term tenants, white and Hispanics had reportedly resided in the same building for over a year more often than had black tenants.

TABLE III-18
SKID ROW AREA SRO TENANT TENURE BY RACE AND ETHNICITY
(frequency of SRO manager responses)

	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>
Few Days only	0	0	0
Few Weeks (But less than 1 Month)	4	5	4
1-6 Months	8	7	5
7-12 Months	3	6	5
1-5 Years	4	2	6
More than 6 Years	1	0	0

Source: HR&A (1986)

Finally, when asked to think about tenure in terms of tenant age groups, the managers' responses suggest that tenure tends to vary directly with age. Young adult tenants (under 30 years old), were more likely to be reported to reside in the building for less than six months. Conversely, tenants between 30 and 60, were more likely to be described as tenants residing in the building for more than one year. Three managers indicated that they had tenants over 60 who had been there for six years. No other tenants in other age groups were reported to have tenure of this length.

MANAGEMENT PATTERNS

One aspect of SROs which clearly distinguishes them from other forms of low cost housing is the role played by the hotel manager and the desk clerk. The manager/desk clerk is the principal "gatekeeper" in the SRO world, the person responsible for screening tenants (and therefore determining the relative character of the building population), providing formal and informal services to tenants, attending to security, and repairing and otherwise maintaining the property.²⁸ Sometimes the owner and manager are one and the same; more frequently the manager is a part owner in the building (often a relative of the owner), or is employed by the owner. In a few cases, the manager master leases the building from the owner, thereby exercising owner-like control of many daily decisions. Professional property management firms are a rarity in the Skid Row SRO market. SRO hotel managers have different levels of management skill, differing motivations to manage SROs, and varying overall approaches to their management responsibilities. Some managers carefully monitor operations and expenses; others do not. Some managers are deeply involved in providing service and care to tenants, particularly long-term tenants while other managers are not.²⁹ In many cases, owners' and managers' language and culture may differ radically from those of the tenants in their buildings.³⁰

The Managers' Survey revealed that the range of management tenure varied from less than six months to more than 10 years.³¹ The pattern of tenure varies from what the SRDC survey found in 1980, as illustrated in Table III-19. The HR&A data seems to suggest a slight increase in the number of shorter-term managers (i.e., those in the same job less than one year) and a decrease in the number of longer-term managers (more than three years).

The range of services provided to tenants differs widely among buildings and probably also varies with the style of ownership and management. Security, for example, one of the most important issues to tenants, is sought through a variety of techniques, as shown below in Table III-20.

Table III-21 shows the share of SROs that provide certain other forms of services to tenants. All SROs receive mail for tenants, and many take phone messages and provide daily or weekly linen service.

²⁸ Siegel emphasizes the role of management in distinguishing between "open" SROs (those with multiple entrances and little control over who enters and leaves, and a manager willing to rent a room to anyone who can pay for it) and "closed" SROs (those characterized by rigid exclusion of persons considered by the management to be poor risks, and in which access to the building is firmly controlled). These practices produce distinct "personalities" for individual buildings. Siegel, H.A., Outposts of the Forgotten: Socially Terminal People in Slum Hotels and Single Room Occupancy Tenements, New Jersey: Transaction Books (1978) pp. 68-71.

²⁹ "His visibility and lengthy hours in the SRO building thrusts the manager, often unwillingly, into the caretaking role. At times he must actively intervene in the lives of his tenants: interrupting domestic quarrels, arbitrating disputes, and occasionally even providing a measure of physical protection for them." Siegel, op. cit., p. 109.

³⁰ Schmunk, op. cit., pp. 96, 102-104, observes that Japanese and Indian owners and managers are distinct numerical groupings in the Skid Row SRO market. In recent years, there appears to be an increasing number of Chinese, Korean and Hispanic owners and managers.

³¹ Desk clerk tenure, when different from that of the manager, on the other hand, is anecdotally reported to be quite long. No data are available on this point.

TABLE III-19
TENURE OF SKID ROW AREA SRO MANAGERS, 1980 AND 1986

	<u>1980</u>	<u>1986</u>
Less than one Month	0%	N/A
Less than 6 Months	20%	25%
6 Months to 1 year	3%	17%
1-3 Years	20%	13%
4-6 Years	37%	21%
7-10 Years	--	8%
More than 10 Years	17%	17%
Total	100%	100%

Source: SRDC Survey (1980), HR&A (1986)

TABLE III-20
TECHNIQUES OF PROMOTING SECURITY IN SKID ROW AREA SROs, 1986
 (percent of SROs providing each measure)

<u>Techniques</u>	<u>Percent^a</u>
Tenant Screening	67%
Controlled Access	79%
Keys Control	71%
Window Bars	25%
Alarm Systems (Other than fire alarms)	13%
Security Guard	25%
No Guests Policy	29%

^aTotal does not sum to 100% because some SROs use more than one technique.

Source: HR&A (1986)

TABLE III-21
SRO SERVICES TO TENANTS, 1986
(percent of SROs providing services)

<u>Services</u>	<u>Percent^a</u>
Regular linen service	88%
Regular maid service	46%
Phone messages taken	88%
Mail received	100%
Check cashing	38%
Loans/credit	0%

^aTotal does not sum to 100% because SROs frequently provide more than one service.

Source: HR&A (1986)

This service array closely matches that identified in the 1980 SRDC survey, with the important exception that in 1980 21% of responding managers indicated that they extended loans and credit to tenants. For a population of such meager average income, this may represent a significant change indeed. The data do not provide any clear indications of just why this willingness to provide financial help has apparently disappeared.

Another important function performed, or supervised, by managers is building maintenance. Given the age of most Skid Row area SROs, and the intensity of use, this task is critical to proper functioning of a building, and in turn, for the housing quality delivered to tenants. Owners and managers reported that maintenance and repair work is performed by a variety of people, as shown in Table III-21A.

TABLE III-21A
REGULAR PERFORMERS OF SRO BUILDING MAINTENANCE, 1986
(percent of SRO owner responses)

<u>Performer</u>	<u>Percent (N=16)</u>
Owner	11%
Manager	21%
Regular Handyperson	47%
Professional Service	16%
Other	5%
Total	100%

Source: HR&A (1986)

One-quarter of the 36 buildings represented in HR&A's Owner Survey and Manager Survey reported major repair and maintenance projects costing \$50,000 or more during the past three to five years. Three buildings reported total building renovation (between \$500,000 and \$5 million), and another six buildings reported seismic reinforcing (wall anchors), plumbing, mechanical and fire damage repairs totaling \$50,000 to \$70,000. The cost range of all reported major SRO repair and maintenance projects during the past three to five years are summarized in Table III-21B.

TABLE III-21B
DISTRIBUTION OF SRO MAJOR REPAIR AND
MAINTENANCE PROJECTS, 1981-1986
(percent of projects within reported cost ranges)

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Over \$1 Million	1	2.8%
\$100,001 - \$1 Million	3	8.3%
\$ 50,001 - \$100,000	5	13.9%
\$ 25,001 - \$ 50,000	3	8.3%
\$ 10,000 - \$ 25,000	3	8.3%
None/No Report	21	58.3%
Total	36	100.0%

Source: HR&A (1986)

OWNERSHIP PATTERNS

Ownership of residential hotels and apartments in the Skid Row area is held primarily by individual investors who are not usually employed or otherwise present on the property. While there have been a few significant multi-property owners in recent years, the majority of SROs are owned by individuals and small partnerships.³² One new multi-property owner which now exerts influence over the local SRO stock in numerous ways is the Single Room Occupancy Housing Corporation, a private non-profit corporation chartered by the Community Redevelopment Agency to acquire and rehabilitate Skid Row SROs. SRO Housing Corporation now owns 924 units in nine buildings, five of which are presently closed and undergoing physical renovation.³³

Both anecdotal evidence and the responses to HR&A's Owners' Survey suggest that the factors which most frequently motivate Skid Row area owners to purchase and own SROs are the

³²The former Consolidated Hotels organization, controlled by real estate magnate Ben Weingart, divested its Skid Row area holdings in 1979. These holdings included the Annex, Panama, Russ, Cecil, and Rosslyn Hotels, totaling 1,454 units, or what would today be 21% of the Skid Row area SRO stock. Frank McHugh and his sister Christine O'Donovan have at one time or another owned a number of SROs. Today their holdings include the Ford, Norbo, Leonide, Boyd and Weldon (528 units, or about 8% of the SRO stock). Since 1985, they have sold the Annex, Leo, Harold and Golden West Hotels to SRO Housing Corporation.

³³Since this Report was prepared, SRO Housing Corporation opened escrow to purchase the 75-unit Ward Hotel.

standard incentives for investment property purchase: possible appreciation of land and/or building value, favorable purchase terms, and building cash flow. Skid Row area land values began increasing substantially during the late 1970s,³⁴ partly reflecting the superheated Southern California real estate market at that time, but, more importantly, because of the combination of rising population and declining numbers of SRO units. Both phenomena were affected by the active commercial and industrial activity surrounding Skid Row on all sides.

Little Tokyo

Little Tokyo, immediately north of Skid Row's Third Street boundary, has undergone extensive and commercially successful redevelopment. The area is now built out, and interest has been regularly expressed by developers in moving Little Tokyo's boundaries south into Skid Row, that is to Fourth or Fifth Street. There has been one recent such rezoning proposal which was unsuccessful. Nevertheless, future redevelopment of this type may affect the six SROs (containing 292 units) closest to Little Tokyo. Five of these hotels are subject to the City's seismic safety ordinance.

The Garment District, Wholesale Flower Market and Wholesale Produce Market

The Garment District, Wholesale Flower Market and Wholesale Produce Market, immediately south and east of Skid Row, have also been the foci of substantial public and private investment during the past decade. Garment businesses (particularly cutting and sewing concerns and wholesale outlets to the public) have increasingly moved into lofts and storefronts along principal Skid Row area streets, including ground floor commercial space in some SRO buildings. Eighteen hotels with 1,423 units are located in this general area (half of which are buildings subject to the seismic ordinance).

The Frozen Food Processing Area

The Frozen Food Processing area along the eastern edge of Skid Row, and anchored by large freezer facilities on Central Avenue, has been growing in the area in recent years. It includes several newly constructed buildings, one of which replaced the Brown Hotel on Ceres Street. Seven hotels, containing 358 units, are located along side streets in this general area. Five of these buildings are subject to seismic rehabilitation.

Speculative Investment Activity on Spring and Main Street

Speculative investment activity on Spring and Main Street, Skid Row's western edge, has been occurring for years in response to various plans for upgrading these formerly prominent, but more recently deteriorated downtown commercial corridors. This area contains 12 hotels (including seven of the largest in the Skid Row area) with 2,275 units. Four of these structures are subject to seismic rehabilitation. The gradual conversion of the Cecil, Rosslyn, Pacific Grand and Frontier Hotels to more tourist oriented clientele, plus the recent demolition of the Star and Howell Hotels for new parking garages, are examples of pressures on the traditional use of SROs in this part of the Skid Row area.

A review of Los Angeles County Assessor and Recorder data, summarized in Table III-22, reveals a marked increase in Skid Row area SRO sales activity during the active Southern

³⁴ Schmunk, op. cit., p.18, reported that land values east of Wall Street, near Fifth and Sixth Streets increased in value from \$5-\$6 per square foot in 1976 to an average of \$12-\$13 per square foot in 1980.

California real estate period of 1979-1983, particularly during 1981, followed by a gradual slowdown and then remaining fairly steady during the past few years. This pattern of sales activity would have shown a marked decline were it not for nine purchases by SRO Housing Corporation during the past two years.

TABLE III-22
FREQUENCY OF SKID ROW AREA SRO BUILDING SALES, 1976-1986

<u>Year</u>	<u>#Sales</u>
1976	2
1977	3
1978	2
1979	7
1980	5
1981	10
1982	4
1983	7
1984	3
1985	6 ^a
1986	9 ^b

^aThree of the 1985 sales were purchases by SRO Housing Corp. -- the Russ, Panama and Florence Hotels.

^bSix of the 1986 sales were purchases by SRO Housing Corp. -- the Annex, Golden West, Harold, Leo, Ellis and Regal Hotels. SRO Corp.'s purchase of the Ward Hotel is currently in escrow.

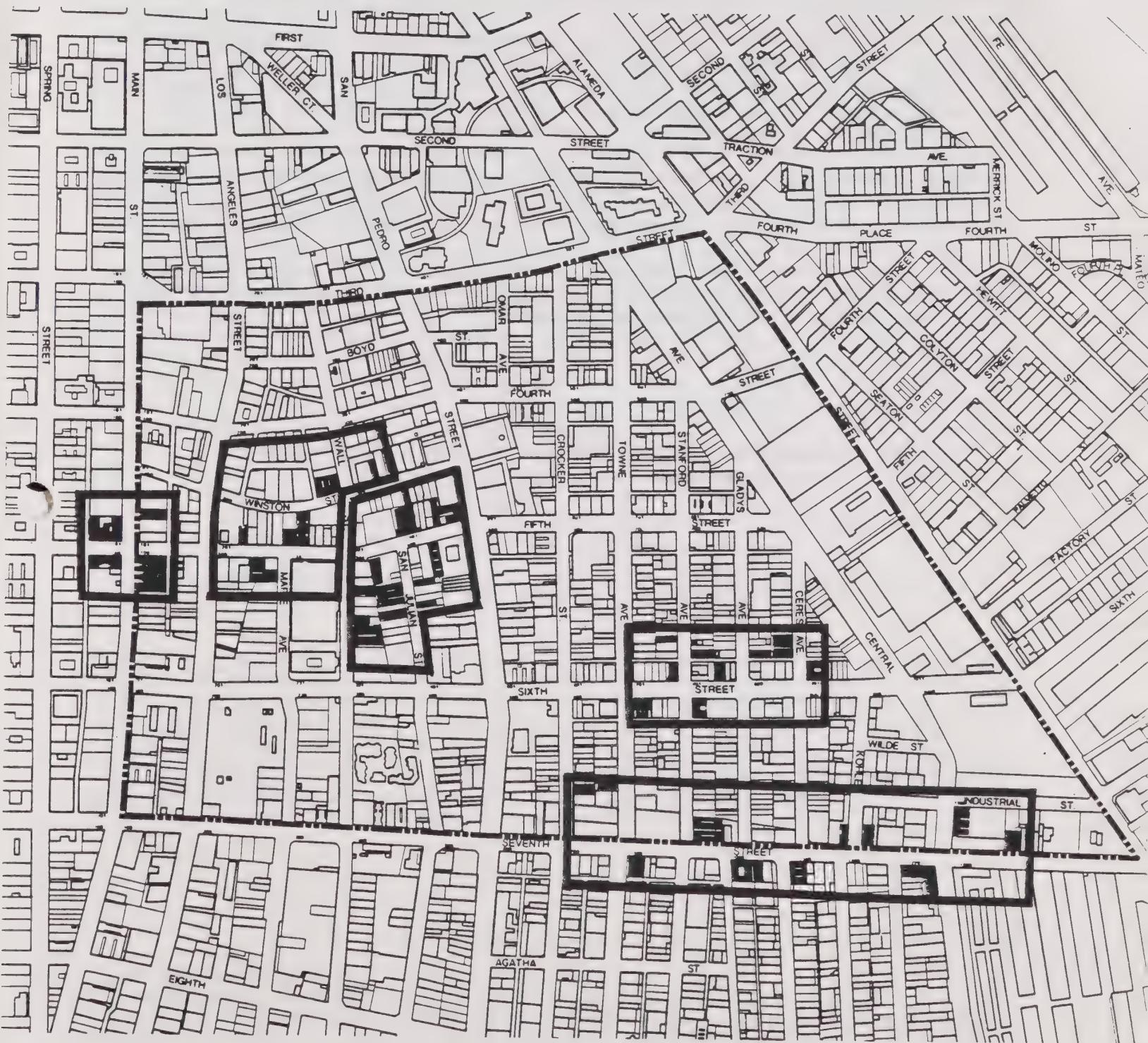
Source: L. A. County Assessor (1986)

FINANCIAL PATTERNS IN SKID ROW AREA SRO OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION

As noted above, SRO Housing Corporation has emerged as an important new force in the area SRO market.³⁵ The corporation's activities are centered in CRA-defined Priority Intervention Areas, or PIAs (see Figure III-3), with the Fifth and San Julian PIA designated as the area of Skid Row to receive first attention. As previously reported, during the past two years, the corporation has acquired the Florence, Russ, Panama, Leo, Golden West, Harold and Annex Hotels, all of which are in this PIA. SRO Housing Corporation just recently purchased the Regal and Ellis Hotels, which are located in a second PIA, in the eastern portion of Skid Row.

³⁵SRO Housing Corporation was incorporated in 1984 to renovate and preserve SRO housing under the policies enunciated in the Central Business District Redevelopment Plan. The Corporation is governed by a seven member Board of Directors, including two members who are also CRA Board Members. The CRA's purposes in chartering the new organization included creation of a safe residential neighborhood for the "non-predatory" adult Skid Row population; preservation and improvement of the existing SRO stock, while preserving affordable rent levels; setting and enforcement of standards for management, maintenance and operation of SROs; fostering of other support services which complement these objectives; and coordination with other organizations providing shelter in the Skid Row area. In addition to general project planning, the Corporation operates a management program for the SROs it has acquired, a moving assistance program to relocate tenants temporarily displaced by Corporation renovation activities, and a maintenance project which services the Corporation's own buildings, as well as providing contract services to other Skid Row agencies.

FIGURE III-3
CENTRAL CITY EAST
PRIORITY INTERVENTION AREAS



The General Picture

Considerable volatility seems to characterize the per-unit prices of Skid Row SRO buildings. A 1981 analysis of sales price trends indicated significant disparities in sales prices per unit within a given year, reflecting differences in location, building condition, building and neighborhood amenities, type of tenant and the specific nature of the sales transaction. For example, the study's comparison between the Weldon and Ellis Hotel stated that:

[The] Weldon likely commanded such a premium because of its location on Maple Street, where land values exceed those just a few blocks east. The comparably sized Ellis went for one-third as much because of its less desirable location, its extraordinary dilapidated condition, and its reputation as a haven for junkies and gangsters.³⁶

It appears, however, that average prices per unit peaked during the 1981 buying spree, declined in 1982 and 1983, climbed again, and then appears to have plateaued, as illustrated in Table III-23. SRO Housing Corporation has acquired nine buildings during the past two years and is clearly the most active SRO buyer at the moment. Although several of its transactions have been packaged to achieve favorable economies, the average price per unit for all SRO Housing Corporation purchases in 1985-86 is \$7,298, ranging from \$5,309 for the Regal Hotel to \$8,092 for the Russ and Panama Hotels.

TABLE III-23
COMPARISON OF AVERAGE PER UNIT PURCHASE PRICES OF
SKID ROW AREA SROs, 1976-1986

<u>Year</u>	<u>Average Price Per Unit</u>
1976	\$1,723
1977	1,747
1978	2,240
1979	2,644
1980	3,619
1981	6,509
1982	5,971
1983	5,692
1984	5,962
1985	8,564
1986	6,530

Source: L.A. County Recorder (1986), L.A. County Assessor (1986)

³⁶Schmunk, op. cit., p. 23.

Another dimension of Skid Row area SRO value evaluation in recent years is the frequency of sales transactions. Approximately 29 SROs, or 36% of the stock has been sold at least once since 1976. Eight of these buildings have sold twice and two have sold three times in that period.

Favorable purchase terms are also important to hotel investors. It is not at all unusual for a Skid Row area hotel to be purchased with a very low down payment as part of a transaction involving second, third and even fourth deeds of trust, at varying interest rates and loan terms, and with the deed almost always carried by the seller. Responses to the Owner Survey and a review of data for buildings participating in CRA's SRO rehabilitation loan programs indicate that down payments range from 7% to 28% of purchase price with most of them less than 20%. More conventional financing of Skid Row area hotels almost never occurs, reportedly because the lending community generally avoids SROs as a building type, due to their age, unusual physical arrangements (i.e., no self-contained apartments and, therefore, lower resale attractiveness in the event of foreclosure), transient occupancy (i.e., less stable and reliable cash flow), and preponderance of unreinforced masonry construction (rendering them subject to the City's seismic safety ordinance).

Nevertheless, an often brisk cash flow, together with the benefits of tax shelter that has historically been associated with real estate investments, constitute major benefits that Skid Row area owners realize from SRO properties.³⁷ The monthly income and expense profiles of Skid Row area SRO buildings are subject to considerable variation, depending upon the date and terms of purchase, the occupancy level, whether or not the building contains ground floor retail space, the condition of the building, tenant types, the level of amenities provided, and the level of code enforcement. A 1981 review of SRO operating costs found operation and maintenance costs varying from 40% to 60% of gross income. The lower end of the range was believed to represent those buildings which were generally smaller and managed by their owners, who typically did not count their own time as an operating expense, and who found inexpensive assistance with building repair problems if they could not do the work themselves. The higher end of the range was considered to be larger buildings with professional management and contracts for repair services.

This analysis calculated a pre-tax return on equity of 11.2% for a hypothetical SRO based on a composite of available 1980-81 data.³⁸

In conducting the present study, HR&A reviewed income and expense data for several SRO buildings in both the Skid Row and South Park areas which have received CRA rehabilitation loan assistance. These data, together with responses to the Owner Survey and the experience to date of SRO Housing Corporation, provide a reasonable basis for sketching the financial picture presented by two Skid Row area SRO prototypes: a three-story, 50-unit building, which is within the size range of 37% of Skid Row SROs; and a multi-story 200-unit building, which is more representative of the larger buildings that make up about 14% of the Skid Row stock. These two prototypical profiles are compared in Table III-24.

³⁷ In the future, however, tax shelter benefits may no longer be of so much importance for real estate investment of any type, as a result of changes recently enacted in the Federal tax laws. These changes may be especially significant factors for SRO owners faced with investments necessary to meet the requirements of the seismic safety ordinance. Whereas some owners might have been able to finance seismic improvements and apply any resulting losses against other income, this practice may be eliminated as a result of the recent tax reform act.

³⁸ Schmunk, op. cit., pp. 41-46.

In the absence of more detailed information on additional SRO building finances, it is not possible to determine how many buildings vary significantly from these prototypes. Anecdotal information and comments from owners suggest that income and expenses will vary from building to building at least in the following ways:

- o Income: Income will vary by room rate, occupancy level, whether or not it participates in the vendor-voucher program, and whether or not the building contains ground floor commercial space, among other variables. As noted above, since the median monthly rent is now \$200, half of all SROs charge more than this sum, and some of them a good deal more, as shown in Appendix 2 of this Report. In some of the more tourist-oriented buildings the rent structure is quite varied depending upon amenity level and location in the building.
- o Administration: Administration expenses may vary considerably, depending upon the number of paid employees working in the building. In some cases an owner-manager handles everything; in others, particularly in the larger buildings, staffing is more numerous and stratified. Even smaller buildings sometimes employ security personnel, although this responsibility is more likely to rest with the manager and/or the desk clerk.
- o Operation and Maintenance: Operation and maintenance expenses will vary primarily in direct proportion to the type of tenants in the building and to the reportedly related matter of the efficiency of building operation systems. It has been suggested, for example, that those buildings which cater to more heavily intoxicated tenants, who tend to abuse building systems more, show higher operating and maintenance costs than do other buildings of similar size. Of course, even if this is true, there may be no direct correlation between need for repair and actual owner expenditure. Other factors affecting this line item are the owner's investment in room and lobby furnishings, and the level and periodicity of linen and laundry service.
- o Real Estate Taxes: Real estate taxes will vary considerably depending upon date of purchase. Based on HR&A's review of available public records, 17 SROs have not been sold since 1976 and therefore continue to benefit fully from Proposition 13 real estate rollbacks.
- o Insurance Costs: Insurance costs including fire and liability insurance, are generally volatile, but also vary substantially from building to building. Some owners complained of both rapidly rising insurance rates and lack of insurance availability, and/or of unavailability of acceptable levels of coverage in recent years. This in part reflects the historic pattern of special insurance coverage problems for SROs in general, and in part, the general crisis in commercial property/casualty coverage that has been a nationwide phenomenon during the past year. The extent to which a more specialized "insurance crisis" exists for SROs is not yet clear. It is reported, for example, that fire insurance has been and remains available, although expensive. On the other hand, liability insurance has been and continues to be difficult if not impossible to obtain. The pending notices recorded against those buildings subject to the seismic safety ordinance may make this situation even more complicated in the months and years ahead.
- o Debt Service: Debt service also varies widely, with a number of buildings believed to be debt free, but the status of most buildings is nearly impossible to trace accurately from information in the public domain.

Comparing the above two SRO prototypes to a recent analysis of the Los Angeles apartment stock³⁹ suggests that, to the extent the prototypes may be taken as reflective of Skid Row, SRO owners may pay a slightly higher percentage of gross income for operation and management than would owners of larger Los Angeles apartment buildings. On the other hand, SROs may feature lower ratios of financing costs to gross income and lower ratios of cash flow to gross income. These comparisons are shown below in Table III-24A.

TABLE III-24A
COMPARISON OF FINANCIAL RATIOS BETWEEN SKID ROW AREA SRO
PROTOTYPES AND LOS ANGELES APARTMENT BUILDINGS, 1983

	<u>Operating Expenses/ Income</u>	<u>Financial Costs/Gross Income</u>	<u>Net Cash Flow/Gross Income</u>
L.A. Apartment Buildings (over 12 units/building)	45%	39%	15%
SRO Prototype A (50 units)	53%	30%	12%
SRO Prototype B (200 units)	60%	25%	10%

The L.A. County Vendor-Voucher Program

As in the social services arena, the provision of housing in Skid Row -- whether in SROs, missions or secular shelters, or by private providers who are for-profits or non-profits, or by government agencies -- is carried on in the context of financial subsidies provided by Los Angeles County which have a substantial impact on the area's shelter stock. As discussed at length in Volume II, the County's General Relief (GR) program provides financial assistance to indigents who are not eligible for Federal or State assistance. It also provides emergency assistance to individuals and families who are in temporary need, such as refugees. GR assistance is designed to be used for food, housing, clothing, transportation, and other basic needs.

The amount and method of calculation of the GR grant allotted to each recipient household is described in Volume II. The County estimates that an average of 3,151 beds per night are now needed, Countywide, to shelter people who have applied and are waiting to qualify for GR. This total includes an average of 407 beds for single women, 2,700 beds for single men, and 44 for couples. Within the Central Los Angeles area (including, but much larger than, Skid Row), average bed requirements per night are estimated by the County to total 2,213 (295 beds for single women, 1,908 for single men, and 10 for couples).

These emergency beds are provided through two County programs, the Vendor-Voucher Program discussed below, and the new Contract Shelter Program, discussed in a later section of this Volume.

³⁹Hamilton, Rabinovitz and Alschuler, op. cit. The data were derived from a 1984 random sample of 311 Los Angeles landlords. The comparisons drawn here are to data for those buildings in the sample with over twelve units per building.

The County's Vendor-Voucher program provides eligible GR applicants with housing vouchers that are redeemable by participating shelter providers. Lodging in provider facilities may be furnished to homeless GR applicants for up to seven days at a time. In the Civic Center area, which includes Skid Row, additional housing above the maximum period may be authorized in 14 day increments up to a maximum of 56 days for individuals. Aid to homeless families is limited to 30 days.

Homeless applicants must accept emergency housing vendor vacancies that are located by the Department of Public Social Services (DPSS) eligibility worker assigned to the District office area where the application is made or in another District area if no vacancies remain in the local District area. As of July 1986, there were approximately 140 shelter facilities throughout the County which accepted DPSS vouchers, the largest concentration of which are located within or adjacent to Skid Row, as displayed in Table III-25. The daily rate for vendor housing throughout the County currently varies from \$5.50 to \$16 per bed, per night. Eight dollars per night is the current voucher rate in the Skid Row area for all facilities except Transition House, which charges \$5.50 per night.

TABLE III-25
VENDOR-VOUCHER RESOURCES IN L.A. COUNTY

<u>Area</u>	<u># Bldgs.</u>	<u># Dwelling Units/Beds</u>	<u>% of Total Units/Beds</u>
Central City	18	1,724	28.2%
South Bay ^a	38	1,343	22.0%
South Central Area ^b	60	1,402	22.9%
Hollywood ^c	20	952	15.6%
S. Fernando Vly./Glendale	6	129	2.1%
S. Gabriel Vly./Pomona	12	339	5.5%
Other ^d	9	229	3.7%
Total	163	6,123	100.0%

^aIncludes Long Beach, Signal Hill, Torrance, Wilmington, San Pedro, Norwalk, and Artesia.

^bIncludes Inglewood, Lynwood, South Gate and Huntington Park.

^cIncludes Wilshire Center and West Hollywood.

^dIncludes Lancaster, Eagle Rock, Pico Rivera, Whittier and West Adams.

Source: DPSS Vendor List for March (1986)

This facility list is maintained by the DPSS Bureau of Assistance Payments (BAP), and is updated monthly by a DPSS Vendor Coordinator who is responsible for determining whether each facility on the list complies with DPSS habitability standards. Vacancies are tracked in a daily inventory of available emergency housing space. When housing is needed, the applicant's eligibility worker contacts a vendor control clerk to ascertain where emergency housing is available. If the applicant accepts the place identified, the room or bed must be

reserved by DPSS for the applicant within one hour after a voucher is issued.⁴⁰ A transportation allowance may also be provided to assist the applicant in reaching the assigned place.

As shown below in Table III-26, between 1978 and 1985, the County paid approximately \$8.2 million to 38 residential hotels and five shelter facilities within and adjacent to Skid Row for participation in the Vendor-Voucher program. More than three-quarters of this total has been paid since 1982, and almost one-third of it was paid in 1985 alone. During the full eight-year period, between 12 and 34 different facilities accepted DPSS vouchers in any given year. According to DPSS officials, the number of participating facilities grew during this time period in response to increasing demand and efforts by the County to add new resources, including five non-profit shelters that have only been in existence since 1980.

TABLE III-26
PARTICIPATION OF CENTRAL CITY EAST RESIDENTIAL
HOTELS AND SHELTER FACILITIES IN THE L.A. COUNTY
VENDOR-VOUCHER PROGRAM, 1978 TO 1985

<u>Year</u>	<u># Hotels/Shelters</u>	<u>Annual Pmts.^a</u>
1978	12/0	\$ 360,911
1979	12/0	324,404
1980	17/0	427,468
1981	22/0	584,293
1982	25/0	1,093,183
1983	28/1	1,334,571
1984	28/4	1,477,195
1985	29/5	2,552,707
Total		\$8,154,732

^aBased on internal DPSS monthly reports which reflect only those vendors who received lodging payments in excess of \$500 in any given payment month. It should also be noted that actual payment to vendors once vouchers are submitted to DPSS may take four to six weeks. Therefore, reported payments may not exactly reflect actual housing assistance provided in a given year.

Source: DPSS, Welfare Payments Division (1986)

The number of participating Skid Row area facilities dropped from 34 in 1985 to 10 during the latter half of 1986, in part due to tougher DPSS enforcement actions resulting from the recent lawsuits noted above, and also due to efforts by DPSS to locate additional Vendor-Voucher facilities outside the Skid Row area.

As might be expected, County emergency vouchers represent an important source of income for many facilities which accept them. Table III-27 indicates that, for more than half of the Skid Row area SROs on the approved vendor list for 1985 (15 of 27), voucher income

⁴⁰This represents a change in the system due to the settlement of a recent lawsuit, *Eisenheim v. Los Angeles County*, which, among other remedies, requires the County to provide emergency shelter on the same day for which it is applied.

accounted for more than 30% of estimated effective gross income.⁴¹ For just under half (12 of 27), voucher income was 40-60% of estimated effective gross income.

TABLE III-27
DPSS VOUCHER PAYMENTS AS A PERCENTAGE OF
ESTIMATED EFFECTIVE GROSS INCOME FOR CENTRAL CITY EAST
RESIDENTIAL HOTELS, 1985

<u>Hotel</u>	<u>DPSS Pmt.</u>	<u>Est. Effective Gross Income</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Alameda	\$ 42,299	\$ 97,236	43.5%
Bixby	109,129	226,008	48.3
Doane	1,944	90,338	2.2
Edward	574	97,236	0.6
Ellis	50,975	155,052	32.9
Eugene	68,950	152,424	45.2
Florence	6,636	108,405	6.1
Ford	384,674	819,936	46.9
Frontier	3,384	1,130,040	0.3
Golden West	84,727	176,076	48.1
Harold	79,822	157,680	50.6
Haskell	53,320	97,236	54.8
Howell	8,811	84,096	10.5
Leo	62,948	126,144	49.9
Lincoln	1,424	236,520	0.6
Lyndon	1,432	162,936	0.9
Modoc	20,000	183,960	10.9
Norbo	54,730	131,400	60.5
Palmer	117,636	194,472	36.5
Panama	268,376	557,136	48.2
Prentice	46,331	97,236	47.7
Regal	12,797	190,694	6.7
Roma	25,957	78,840	32.9
Russ	368,678	840,960	43.8
St. Agnes	1,171	113,825	1.0
San Julian	9,600	65,700	14.6
Southern	825	90,338	0.9
Star	35,125	231,264	15.2
Webb	1,536	131,400	1.2
Total	\$1,923,811	\$6,824,588	28.2%

Source: DPSS (1986), HR&A (1986)

On August 12, 1986, an amendment to the complaint in the aforementioned Paris case was filed in Superior Court alleging that the County's expenditure of public funds for the voucher program in the Skid Row area is illegal and wasteful, and that the County's operation of the voucher program in the area violates the County's duty, under the Welfare

⁴¹Estimated effective gross income is calculated as average room rate paid by DPSS x the number of total rooms x 365 days per year x 90% occupancy rate.

and Institutions Code, to provide necessary emergency shelter to homeless indigents. The complaint asserts that "conditions at many downtown voucher hotels are filthy, dangerous, and debilitating".⁴² The plaintiffs seek a preliminary injunction to stop the County from continuing the Vendor-Voucher program in hotel facilities until it can be proven that the facilities comply with the habitability standards contained in DPSS regulations and in other City and County health and safety regulations. The plaintiffs further request that the County be required to prepare a plan establishing how it would conduct the Vendor-Voucher program to ensure compliance with all health and safety requirements pending final resolution of the lawsuit.⁴³ In response to the amended complaint, L.A. County recently filed a cross-complaint against former and current owners of Skid Row area facilities participating in the Vendor-Voucher program, alleging damages, breach of warrant of habitability, conspiracy and breach of contract.

Beginning in August 1986, DPSS substantially altered its practices of how Civic Center area voucher recipients are assigned to Skid Row area vendor facilities, by establishing a priority system and an SRO rating schedule. Under the new procedures, DPSS staff are to refer voucher recipients first to those facilities under the Contract Shelter Program (currently in Skid Row, the Weingart Center and the VOA's Women's and Couple's Shelter, described later in this volume), second to non-profit shelters (the Russ and Panama Hotels now owned by SRO Housing Corporation and Transition House), and third to privately-owned SROs, but in order according to a rating schedule. This rating schedule assigns numbers 1 through 10 to each privately owned hotel, reflecting a measure of "best" (number 1) to "worst" (number 10), based on County Health Department assessments which compare Skid Row area hotels against one another.⁴⁴ All rooms in top-rated SROs are to be filled before rooms in SROs with lower scores are to be used.

⁴²Paris, op. cit., p.11

⁴³The plaintiffs suggest that any such plan include the following:

1. Distribute to all voucher recipients a brief and clearly written description of the standards which a voucher hotel is supposed to comply under DPSS regulations. The list could also be posted in welfare district offices, given to eligibility workers in those offices, and posted in voucher hotels.
2. Supply, along with the list described in Item 1, a telephone number where complaints can be received for prompt investigation. Encourage voucher recipients to call, and inform them that they may leave if the hotels to which they are sent are in violation of the standards. A hotel should be removed immediately from the Approved Vendor List when investigation shows violation of the standards.
3. Establish communication between the DPSS Vendor Control Unit and City departments of fire and building and safety, as well as the City's Inter-Agency Housing Task Force.
4. Train inspectors at both DPSS and DHS with regard to DPSS regulations and applicable State, County, and City laws so that they can perform their jobs competently.
5. Notify voucher recipients resident in a voucher hotel which has been removed from the Approved Vendor List that the hotel has been removed, and give them the option of leaving the hotel and being reassigned to another hotel immediately.
6. Instruct the Vendor Control Unit that it is not a ministerial body, but rather is the agency responsible for seeing that the conditions in voucher hotels are "adequate, safe, and healthful" (in the words of the DPSS Handbook), and that it cannot lawfully delegate this duty to any other agency.
7. Condition any future increases in the daily rate paid to voucher hotels upon a record of compliance with DPSS regulations. Reward only those hotels with good records.
8. Devise a rating system for voucher hotels which adequately incorporates all DPSS standards for emergency housing facilities, and train those performing the ratings in these standards. Assign the homeless to voucher hotels on the basis of best-hotel-first.
9. Devise a method whereby DPSS receives information about significant violations of its regulations which appear within specific rooms within voucher hotels; act to prevent the placement of voucher recipients within those rooms until such time as the violations therein are corrected.

(Ibid., pp. 122-123)

⁴⁴Department of Public Social Services, Administrative Directive No. 2733 (no date).

According to DPSS staff, the middle priority category (non-profit facilities) has been eliminated, and these facilities are now rated and listed along with privately-owned SROs.⁴⁵ As a result, some privately-owned SROs have received priority over non-profit facilities, presumably because the Department of Health Services has rated conditions in these private facilities above some of the non-profit facilities.⁴⁶

When managers at SROs which currently accept or previously accepted vouchers were asked in HR&A's Manager Survey to compare voucher tenants with other building tenants, over half commented that the voucher tenants caused more property damage and were more likely to have serious alcohol, drug, or other health problems than non-voucher tenants. These comments are summarized for comparison in Table III-28.

TABLE III-28
HOTEL MANAGERS' COMPARISON OF VOUCHER TENANTS
TO NON-VOUCHER TENANTS

	<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>"N"</u>
Cause Property Damage	5	0	2	7
Alcoholism Problems	4	0	3	7
Drug Problems	4	0	3	7
Other Health Problems	2	0	2	4

Source: HR&A (1986)

THE SECULAR SHELTERS

OVERVIEW

There are five "secular" shelters in the Skid Row area. As already noted, they are distinguished from the missions in that they do not have a requirement that applicants for shelter attend religious services. Also, several of the secular shelters provide shelter to both men and women, whereas the missions provide overnight accommodations mostly to men. Like some of the missions, however, the secular shelters provide a range of social services and counseling along with overnight shelter. All five are operated by private, non-profit, tax exempt organizations, and all five have been constructed or developed since 1980 with partial funding from public sources. Four of the shelters are located in the eastern portion of the Central City East Project Area, between 5th and 6th Streets (see Figure III-4).

⁴⁵ Telephone conversation with Mickey Wong, DPSS Civic Center office, December 16, 1986.

⁴⁶ For example, the December 1986 approved vendor list ranks the privately-owned Prentice, Ford and Boyd Hotels as "1" and the non-profit owned Russ as "2" and Panama as "3".

FIGURE III-4
**LOCATIONS OF SKID ROW AREA
SECULAR SHELTERS**



INVENTORY OF SHELTER BEDS

Approximately 1,126 beds are available in the five secular shelters. Of this total, 46% are available each night on a walk-in basis, 31% on a longer-term, transitional use basis, and 23% on a permanent or semi-permanent basis. Table III-29 shows the distribution of beds by type of availability.

TABLE III-29
BED CAPACITY OF SECULAR SHELTERS
(April, 1986)

<u>Shelter</u>	<u>Bed Capacity</u>	<u>Walk-In</u>	<u>Trans.</u>	<u>Available to:</u> <u>Perm./</u> <u>Semi-Perm.</u>
San Pedro Street	138	138	0	0
Transition House	130	0	130	0
Ballington Plaza	270	0	0	270
Women's & Couples	96	96	0	0
Weingart Center	559	317	242	0
Total	1,193	551	372	270

Source: HR&A (1986)

A higher percentage of secular shelter users is reported to be made up of repeat users than is the case for the missions. This difference probably principally reflects the difference in services offered by the two shelter forms: the secular shelters generally provide more developmental and preventive services, which imply longer-term residency, compared to the missions, which generally provide more basic and stabilization-oriented services. The tenure pattern for secular shelters may shift somewhat in the future, however, in the direction of more onetime users, as both the Weingart Center and the Women's and Couples' Shelter have begun to operate under the County's Contract Shelter Program (discussed below).

CHARACTERISTICS OF SECULAR SHELTER USERS

Table III-30 shows the age distribution of residents in Skid Row secular shelters. These draw a higher percentage of younger people than do the missions, particularly at Transition House and the Women's and Couples' Shelter. Older people comprise a very small percentage of these shelter populations, and of the missions, with the exception of Ballington Plaza, which was specifically developed with the needs of older Skid Row residents in mind.

TABLE III-30
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESIDENTS IN SECULAR SHELTERS
(April, 1986)

<u>Shelter</u>	<u>Under 30</u>	<u>31-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
San Pedro Street	50%	40%	10%
Transition House ^a	68%	31%	2%
Ballington Plaza	15%	75%	15%
Women's & Couples'	75%	24%	1%
Weingart Center	10%	89%	1%

^aTransition House data are kept in ranges of under 35, 36-55 and 55+ years old.

Source: HR&A (1986)

The fact that secular shelters, as a group, provide more places for women to sleep overnight than do the missions is spelled out in Table III-31. The exceptions are also clearly etched by these figures. Thus, at Ballington Plaza, men and women are present in almost equal numbers, and at the Women's and Couples' Shelter, women outnumber men nine to one.

TABLE III-31
GENDER OF RESIDENTS IN SECULAR SHELTERS
(April, 1986)

<u>Shelter</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
San Pedro Street	80%	20%
Transition House	75%	25%
Ballington Plaza	54%	46%
Women's & Couples'	8%	92%
Weingart Center	87%	13%

Source: HR&A (1986)

Table III-32, which traces the current racial/ethnic population of secular shelters, shows that blacks outnumber all other ethnic and racial groups, particularly at Transition House and the Weingart Center. Asians and American Indians represent less than 5% of the secular shelter population, as they do in the missions, except at Ballington Plaza, where approximately 15% are Asians and 10% are American Indians. The percentage of Hispanics varies considerably from one shelter to another, ranging from a high of 30% at the San Pedro Emergency Shelter to a low of 5% at Transition House and Ballington Plaza.

TABLE III-32
RACIAL/ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF SECULAR SHELTER RESIDENTS
(April, 1986)

<u>Shelter</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	<u>Asians</u>	<u>Am. Indians</u>
San Pedro Street	33%	33%	33%	0%	0%
Transition House	18%	76%	5%	0%	1%
Ballington Plaza	30%	40%	5%	15%	10%
Women's & Couples'	25%	50%	15%	10%	0%
Weingart Center	31%	61%	7%	0.5%	0.5%

Source: HR&A (1986)

There has recently been some expansion of secular shelters, and there will likely soon be some further growth in them, though it is possible that, because of one possible shutdown, this expansion will not produce a net addition to secular shelter beds in the area. In May 1986, the Downtown Women's Center opened a new, 48-room shelter on Los Angeles Street for women only; St. Vincent's Center may soon add up to 100 overnight shelter beds on the second floor of its day center on Winston Street; and the L.A. Men's Place is planning an 18-bed shelter for the mentally ill. Together, these new facilities would increase the secular shelter beds in Skid Row by about 15%, assuming all existing facilities remained in place. However, the new resources, if built, would only slightly outnumber the existing beds available at the San Pedro Street Emergency Shelter, which must be closed or relocated toward the end of 1986, as described below, if a permanent zoning variance or an extension to the temporary variance cannot be obtained to allow it to remain open. Moreover, the Skid Row Development Corporation has recently decided not to convert its building at 540 San Pedro Street to additional emergency shelter beds, as had been previously planned, to concentrate resources on other projects. From time to time there has been public discussion about converting surplus public buildings to shelters, but no such projects have moved beyond the discussion stage to date.

L.A. COUNTY'S CONTRACT SHELTER PROGRAM

On November 27, 1984 the County Board of Supervisors unanimously approved a motion by Supervisor Kenneth Hahn to examine the feasibility of contracting with responsible non-profit organizations for the care of the homeless on a longer term basis. The Board's action followed public disclosure that many of the privately-owned hotels participating in the County's Vendor-Voucher program had been cited for substandard, unhealthful and hazardous conditions. Such conditions, according to County administrative staff, were caused in part by strains placed on existing temporary housing resources by the large number of persons requesting shelter vouchers. In proposing that the County staff explore an alternative system, Supervisor Hahn commented:

Just last week, four hotels came to our attention as being infested with rats and other disease-carrying vermin, strewn with garbage, and lacking heat, hot water, workable toilets, windows that close and doors that lock. Conditions are so bad that some Skid Row residents testified they would rather sleep on the streets than in these hotels. Yet, during fiscal year 1984/1985, the County paid \$148,621 to these hotels.

It is time to dramatically alter the County's policy on sheltering the homeless. There are many non-profit organizations in the County that responsibly provide clean, healthful, and dignified housing for these unfortunate people, such as the Midnight Mission, the Union Rescue Mission and the Salvation Army. The County could contract on a long-term basis with these organizations for the complete care of the homeless.

With such long-term contracts, these non-profit organizations could add to their present facilities to accommodate all of the homeless and the County could get out of the business of subsidizing slum landlords.⁴⁷

Prior to the Board action, a working group within DPSS had already proposed contracting with private providers, on grounds that such contracting gave the County more control over housing quality, placement of program users, and fund disbursement. The County CAO also considered contracting an attractive opportunity for non-profit vendors, since they could use a guaranteed commitment of long term County funding as a means of leveraging funds from the private sector. Furthermore, it was suggested that a contract system, with the appropriate safeguards, could better provide safe and clean temporary shelter for GR applicants.

In March 1985, the County issued a 78-page Request for Proposals (RFP) for private non-profit organizations interested in providing shelter for homeless single adults and couples without children who apply for GR. The intent was to provide additional quality emergency shelter beds for GR applicants throughout the County without diverting existing shelter resources from other homeless persons. The RFP also sought to improve the overall quality of emergency shelter available to homeless GR applicants, and to contain or reduce the cost of providing shelter. A schedule was established in which the RFP would be re-issued on a quarterly basis until enough shelters were under contract to satisfy the County's estimated need for 3,151 beds each night, apportioned within various geographic subareas.⁴⁸

The RFP was sent to 115 organizations whose names were obtained from lists of United Way social service agencies, as well as to other government agencies concerned with providing housing for the homeless. Four responses to the RFP were received. One was eliminated,

⁴⁷ Minutes of the L.A. County Board of Supervisors, November 27, 1984.

⁴⁸ The RFP included the following provisions:

1. A five-year contract between the County and the participating shelter facility.
2. A guarantee by the contractor of a specified number of beds for exclusive use by GR applicants in a safe and clean emergency shelter providing either single room occupancy or dormitory type housing.
3. A complete quality control plan covering all services specified in the contract.
4. Regularly scheduled performance evaluation meetings with County contract staff.
5. Contractor responsibility for all furnishings, including facilities, furniture and equipment, supplies and materials, and insurance.
6. Adherence to a set of minimum occupancy standards of quality.
7. Pre-payment by the County at the beginning of each month for the specified number of exclusive-use beds.
8. DPSS steering of eligible homeless GR applicants to the contracting facility.
9. Provision by the contractor of adequate laundry facilities at no charge to the residents.
10. Encouragement (not requirement) by the County to have the contractor provide ancillary services at no charge to the County for such services as counseling, transportation, and information and/or referral services.
11. Encouragement by the County to have the contractor use the shelter facility as a workfare project site, with all costs to be assumed by the contractor.
12. Contractor responsibility for thorough record-keeping and reporting on occupancy data.
13. Contractor ability to comply with regulations and forms, including: Section 17000 Welfare and Institutions Code of the State of California (General Relief); Section 10850 et. seq. and 17006 Welfare and Institutions Code of the State of California (habitation); Section 1025 Uniform Building Code of the State of California (sanitation); Chapter 11.20 Los Angeles County Public Health Code (housing); and DPSS Referral Form (client referral).

reportedly because it did not follow the required form. The other three respondents all received contracts. They are the Volunteers of America Women's and Couples' Center, for exclusive use of 88 beds starting October 1, 1985; San Fernando Valley Interfaith Council-Fiesta Shelter Motel in North Hollywood, for exclusive use of 50 beds, starting April 1, 1986; and the Weingart Rehabilitation Center, for exclusive use of 190 beds, starting May 1, 1986.

On June 3, 1985, the County issued an amended RFP inviting responses from profit-making as well as from non-profit organizations. Approximately 140 potential proposers were placed on the list of prospective bidders. Only two bids were received--one of which was determined to be valid, and the other invalid. Both came from non-profit bidders. DPSS is currently negotiating an additional contract with SRO Housing Corporation, the lone acceptable bidder to the second RFP.

The Contract Shelter Program is an adaptation of the County's Vendor-Voucher program. It retains the use of housing vouchers by GR recipients and the compensation schedules for providers at levels specified in the Vendor Facilities list. Unlike the voucher system, however, the contracting system prepays providers for exclusive use of a designated number of beds. GR applicants are referred to Contract Shelter facilities before other Vendor-Voucher program facilities. The Contract Shelter facilities are also subject to a more stringent system of shelter quality inspection.

Under the Contract system, DPSS staff contact the participating shelter resource each morning to see if there are vacancies within the contract maximum at that facility. Vacancies are determined following a required sign-in of GR clients by 9:30 a.m. each day. Those clients who do not sign in before the deadline must leave the facility. If there are vacancies, the DPSS eligibility worker refers GR applicants seeking emergency housing to the contractor. The referred individual then provides the contractor with a form indicating his/her name, case number, DPSS District office, and the number of days he/she is eligible for shelter at that location. The client's length of stay can be extended or terminated at the determination of the DPSS eligibility worker. The contracting facility cannot refuse services to a client without good cause (e.g., drunkenness, disorderly conduct or failure to follow house rules).

Participating Contract providers negotiate with the County to reserve a specified number of beds or rooms for GR applicants. Like the Vendor-Voucher program, GR applicants are normally authorized by DPSS to stay at the shelter facility for a period of seven to 14 days. DPSS retains the right to authorize renewal for additional days, or to cancel stays at any time. According to DPSS, an average stay is 22 days.

Under the Vendor-Voucher program, providers are compensated for vouchers after service is provided. With the contracting system, providers are guaranteed payment in advance. Depending upon the actual contract between the County and the provider, payment is based on the number of exclusive GR beds or rooms. The County will authorize payment per voucher per night, per number of "guaranteed" beds or rooms, and a negotiated sum of money per voucher per night for those "incremental" beds or rooms which, when added to the number of guaranteed facilities, equal the total number of exclusive beds or rooms under contract. For example, a contractor may set aside 50 beds or rooms for exclusive GR use and negotiate a guaranteed minimum payment for 35 of those 50 beds or rooms. The operator may be willing to accept compensation for the remaining beds at a lower rate in order to guarantee at least partial income from what might otherwise be vacant space, while at the same time providing the County with a larger number of available rooms than it otherwise could afford at the full compensation rate. Payment is made at the beginning of each month in advance of actual use by eligible clients. In cases where the number of clients referred to a provider exceeds the number of exclusive use beds or rooms, but a vacancy exists, the

provider bills the County for those facilities in the same way as under the Vendor-Voucher program.

The Contract Program is administered by the Contract Management Division (CMD) of DPSS. This office is responsible for selection of contractors, for monitoring and evaluating contractor performance (record-keeping, compensation, etc.), and for property inspection (health and safety). In the voucher system, by contrast, these responsibilities are divided between two DPSS sub-agencies (monitoring and evaluation by the Management Information and Evaluating Division; inspections by the Bureau of Assistance Payments). Due in part to the small program size and to the stipulated requirements of the contracting program, inspections are reportedly carried out more regularly (at a minimum, once per month) than for the voucher program (quarterly).

No formal evaluation of the Contract Shelter Program has yet been conducted because of the small number of participants and the regular inspection and monitoring which takes place with respect to each facility under contract. To fill this gap, HR&A obtained copies of each contract and conducted telephone interviews with administrators in each facility. However, only the VOA Women's and Couples' Center actually has sufficient operational experience so that preliminary observations can be made with much assurance.

The VOA Women's and Couples' Center entered into an agreement with the County on September 3, 1985. This facility has a total of 96 beds, of which 88 are contracted for exclusive use by GR recipients, with payment guaranteed. The remaining eight beds in the facility are available for GR use at the prevailing Vendor-Voucher rate. During each of the first two years of the contract, the County agreed to pay the Center \$242,360 in compensation for shelter and services provided. Besides shelter, the Center provides clients with mental health services referrals, medical referrals, free personal hygiene facilities, and free clean clothing.

After eight months of operation under the Contract Program, the administrator expressed general satisfaction with the program. In particular, the Center preferred the pre-payment aspect of the program, as compared to the Voucher system, since compensation for bills under the prior system was not always timely. On a number of occasions, in fact, compensation was reportedly late by several months, or was received in partial payment. Occupancy under the Contract system has varied due to normal seasonal population factors, but all 88 of the "guaranteed" beds are usually filled each night. Some vacancies have occurred due to eligible clients not checking into the facility after having received certification and instructions from the DPSS eligibility office. Due to the contracting arrangements with the County, however, the Center is not allowed under these circumstances to make vacant rooms among the guaranteed 88 available to others seeking shelter. (Under the preceding Voucher system, the Center could have assigned these rooms on a first come, first served basis, to either eligible Voucher holders or to cash paying guests.)

There is also some incidence of duplication of County inspection activities. The Contract Management Division visited the facility once or twice each month to inspect rooms and check vouchers and other required records. The Vendor Control Unit of DPSS continued to inspect vouchers. In addition, the DHS continued its inspection activities.

The second contract, which was signed March 18, 1986 between the County and the San Fernando Valley Interfaith Council, went into effect on April 1, 1986. The Fiesta Motel Shelter, located in North Hollywood, did not exist prior to the start of the Contract program. An existing motel was purchased and rehabilitated by a non-profit organization to accommodate homeless persons.

The shelter opened as a contract facility following approximately two and a half years of planning and negotiation with the County. The Contract Shelter Program RFP came along at a particularly propitious time for this particular facility. It contains 77 units, including a total of 25 two- and three-bedroom units. Some of these units can accommodate families with up to two children, and others can house families with up to eight children. The County has exclusive use of 50 of the approximately 170 beds at the site. Forty beds are designated as guaranteed payment beds, while 10 are classified as "incremental" payment beds.

According to the five-year contract, the County is obligated to compensate the shelter a total of \$233,600 each year for providing shelter beds for 40 GR applicants. The County will pay the Interfaith Council an additional \$16 per night, per person housed in excess of the 40 guaranteed beds. If, however, the shelter does not provide 50 shelter beds, it must reimburse the County \$16 for each bed that is unavailable to GR applicants.

A unique feature of this contract was the County's willingness to permit the Interfaith Council six months following execution of the agreement to complete physical renovations to the Fiesta Motel Shelter. While the facility was certified by Building and Safety officials to be in compliance with the relevant legal requirements, additional interior and exterior improvements were agreed upon by the County and the Interfaith Council. Besides emergency shelter, the Fiesta Motel Shelter offers various social services, including job development, mental health counseling, and health care. In its early months of operation, the facility ran at occupancy capacity.

The County agreement with the Weingart Center went into effect on May 1, 1986. This three-year contract requires the Weingart Center to provide 190 beds for exclusive use by GR applicants and to provide other services as specified in the agreement (e.g., laundry, counseling, transportation, information and/or referral activities, record-keeping, etc.). The Weingart Center must offer 163 single room occupancy beds, three double-occupancy rooms and 21 dormitory-style beds (three dormitories with five beds each and one dormitory with six beds).

In the first two years of the agreement, the County will guarantee the Weingart Center \$499,320 each year for 171 shelter beds per night. The County will compensate the Center an additional \$8 per bed, per night for beds in excess of the 171 requirement. If, however, the Weingart Center does not provide 190 shelter beds per night, it must reimburse the County \$8 per bed, per night for each unused bed.

The SRO Housing Corporation contract has been in negotiation for many months, but is expected to be signed by September 1987. Like the other facilities currently under contract, the SRO Housing Corporation will offer both shelter and ancillary social services.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE SECULAR SHELTERS

The social service activities of many of these facilities have been described and discussed in Volume II. The focus of this Volume is mainly on their shelter provision activities and characteristics.

San Pedro Street Emergency Shelter

The San Pedro Street shelter was originally constructed on a vacant City-owned lot at the corner of Fifth and San Julian Streets by volunteer union construction workers in a matter of days during January 1985. It was built at the request of Mayor Bradley, in response to concern about the number of people displaced when the City removed a "tent city," erected by

advocates for the City's homeless on a State-owned parcel of land adjacent to City Hall during the prior Christmas season. In November 1985, the shelter was relocated to its current site in the face of considerable opposition from adjacent businesses and property owners. The City's Board of Zoning Appeals ultimately granted a zoning variance allowing the shelter to operate on the site for one year, but attached a variety of conditions, including a requirement for a roving security patrol to operate in the area surrounding the shelter.

The shelter is operated by the Skid Row Development Corporation. It is the only City-owned shelter in Los Angeles. The wood frame, modular building provides 138 beds for adults only, typically 114 for men and 24 for women, in a dormitory-style arrangement. Admission is on a first come, first served basis, beginning with a sign-in reservation procedure each morning. The site includes a portable shower trailer, personal storage lockers, a clothes storage bin, and 14 portable toilets (one of which is structured for handicapped users). A chain link, canvass-covered fence surrounds the shelter and screens it from the surrounding neighborhood. Coffee and donuts are served each morning to overnight users, but no meals are available on site. Referrals to other social services are provided when needs are identified, and counseling arrangements exist through the Weingart Center and Transition House, which are located immediately north on San Pedro Street. Annual operating costs are estimated to be \$300,000, or about \$6.00 per bed, per night. Operating funds are provided from CRA's CBD Homeless Shelter Trust Fund. When the shelter first opened in 1985, L. A. County contributed \$44,000 toward operating costs. Since then the County has approved the site for participation in the Vendor-Voucher Program. The one year variance permitting the shelter to remain at its current location has been extended to September 1, 1987.

Transition House

As described in Volume II, Transition House is a three year-old facility, also operated by the Skid Row Development Corporation (SRDC), which provides dormitory-style shelter, meals and counseling in a remodeled warehouse building. The 130-bed shelter (94 beds for men and 36 for women) has frequently been cited by recent studies of shelter facilities as a model for providing an integrated package of services. It was designed to fill a perceived gap in the area's shelter system by providing a medium-term, supportive environment to help clients make a transition away from the Skid Row area. Although application is on a walk-in basis, candidates must complete a structured intake interview and orientation. Users may reside for up to 60 days, and repeat visits are permitted at the Director's discretion. Morning and evening meals are provided on site for shelter residents. Various indoor and outdoor recreation opportunities are also provided. The program has numerous connections with other social service providers in the area. "Graduates" of Transition House have priority for relocation into a 17-unit apartment project developed by SRDC in South Central Los Angeles. The Corporation is reportedly considering the purchase of a local residential hotel to expand the range of living accommodations available to those who leave Transition House.

Land acquisition and construction of the shelter were financed by an "Innovative Grant" from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, together with funds from CRA, the City's Community Development Department and a long list of corporate and individual donors. Annual operating costs, including depreciation, are approximately \$535,303, or about \$11.28 per bed per night. SRDC recently requested financial assistance from CRA for an annual operating budget subsidy of about \$150,000 for Transition House.

Ballington Plaza

At the time Phase I of Ballington Plaza was built by Volunteers of America in 1981, it was the first new housing constructed in the Skid Row area in perhaps 50 years. The project was

included in CRA's First Annual Work Program as a way of providing new residential options for frail, elderly residents of the Skid Row area. The 270-unit project includes a free-standing 200-seat dining facility, arranged around a landscaped courtyard, a library, laundry services, counseling offices and a community kitchen on each floor. Twenty-four-hour security is also provided. Applications are taken by walk-in, referral and mail-in application. An interview is required, and there is currently a waiting list of over 400 people. Rents range from \$119 per month for single rooms to \$201 for an efficiency apartment unit. Land acquisition and construction costs, which totaled about \$10 million, were funded by CRA. The project is operated by Volunteers of America, a national service organization. The annual operating budget is about \$507,300, or about \$5.15 per dwelling unit per day. The program is intended to be self-supporting from rent paid by residents.⁴⁹

Women's and Couples' Shelter

This 96-bed shelter facility was created in 1984 by Volunteers of America to fill a perceived gap in Skid Row area shelter by providing overnight accommodations for women and male/female couples. The facility is located in a building previously used by VOA for alcohol detoxification, a program now located in the Weingart Center. The shelter offers single rooms, laundry services, a canteen, clothing, a lending library, counseling, workshops and weekly AA meetings. Regular meal service is planned for the future. As already noted, the Center was the first shelter to participate in the County's Contract Shelter Program, which requires that 88 of its beds be reserved each night for General Relief applicants referred by the County. Under the terms of the County contract, the shelter receives \$276,930 per year, or about \$8.00 per bed per night.

Weingart Center

Located in the former 621-room El Rey Hotel, this social service center provides 557 beds, apportioned between several different programs: a drop-in alcoholism program with 62 beds; a screening and referral service with 242 beds; the DPSS Contract Shelter Program with 190 beds; and other programs with 65 beds. The 12-story complex also contains L.A. County's H. Claude Hudson Comprehensive Health Center, which primarily serves alcoholism program clients, the County Department of Mental Health Clinic, VOA's 24-hour, drop-in alcohol detoxification program, a Veteran's Administration satellite program, and a dining facility in a separate one-story building.

The Center was originally developed by VOA in response to the 1978 Sundance decision, described in Volume II, which required major reform of criminal processing, medical treatment and judicial procedures for public inebriates. The Weingart Foundation donated the building to the VOA, provided a renovation grant, and secured additional project financing from a variety of public and private sources, including a \$1.6 million Neighborhood UDAG grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. In 1984, the Weingart Center Association was organized to assume ownership and management of the project, which by then included a wide range of social services for public inebriates, the homeless and the mentally disabled. The Center's current annual operating budget is approximately \$2.9 million, or about \$16.15 per bed per day for all programs. The facility receives operating funds from a wide variety of public and private sources, including CRA's Shelter Trust Fund and L.A. County's Contract Shelter Program.

⁴⁹VOA has filed a request with CRA to increase rents because rent receipts are not covering operating costs.

THE MISSIONS

OVERVIEW

Skid Row also has six missions which provide overnight shelter with the proviso that users must present some form of identification (primarily to respond to inquiries from relatives searching for lost family members) and most require attendance at religious services.⁵⁰ Three of the six Skid Row missions are located in the eastern portion of the area -- two near Fifth and Main, and the Union Rescue Mission further north along Main Street (see Figure III-5). The Union Rescue Mission and the L.A. Mission are preparing plans to relocate within the next few years, so that soon, all mission-type facilities will be concentrated near the center of the CCE area.

INVENTORY OF MISSION BEDS

Table III-34 shows the bed capacity of the missions. A total of approximately 1,000 beds are available in all six taken together. Half of these beds are available nightly to temporary, walk-in users; 44% are for "transitional" users who are participating in a religious training program, and 5% are for permanent or semi-permanent users, who are usually resident staff.

TABLE III-34
BED CAPACITY OF MISSIONS, 1986

<u>Mission</u>	<u>Number of Beds</u>	<u>Walk-Ins</u>	<u>Trans.</u>	<u>Available to:</u> <u>Perm/ Semi-Perm</u>
American Soul Clinic	200	170	30	0
Emmanuel Baptist Mission	65	65	0	0
Los Angeles Mission	70	40	30	0
Midnight Mission	138	118	0	20
Salvation Army Harbor Lt.	230	0	230	0
Union Rescue Mission ^a	300	125 ^b	150	25
Total	1,003	518	440	45

^aAlthough now located outside Central City East, this mission is currently scheduled to relocate into Central City East.

^bIncludes approximately 25 beds reserved for medical clinic use. In addition, up to 650 additional guests can be accommodated overnight in chairs in the Mission's Chapel area and the basement.

Source: HR&A (1986)

⁵⁰A history of the Union Rescue Mission provides the following definition of its goal: "...an institution established for the rescuing of men from sin, from the bondage of evil habits, and from the thralldom of Satan...In carrying out such a program, three factors are absolutely essential. The work must be located where great numbers of men who need salvation are congregated; the program must be one that will draw these men into the mission; and finally the Gospel of Jesus Christ must be presented in such a way that men will understand what salvation is, and will be persuaded by the drawing of the Holy Spirit, to receive Christ into their hearts." Henry, Helga B., Mission on Main Street Los Angeles: Union Rescue Mission (1955) pp. 4-5.

FIGURE III-5
LOCATIONS OF SKID ROW AREA MISSIONS



Mission administrators indicate that all beds are full each night. During the colder, wetter months of the year demand rises and some missions permit men, or men and women, to sleep in their chapel or dining area chairs overnight. Even these facilities are reported to be completely occupied in the winter.

Two missions (Union Rescue and Los Angeles) have specific plans to relocate within the area. These relocations are very significant in terms of consolidating mission beds, and hence, user movements in the eastern part of the Skid Row area. If constructed as now planned, these two missions will expand mission shelter capacities by approximately 21%, or by about 215 additional beds in 1987-88.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MISSION SHELTER USERS

The age distribution of mission users is shown in Table III-35. Mission shelter operators report a marked increase in younger (18-35) overnight guests, as compared to years past. Most users are between 30 and 60 years old, and relatively few are elderly. A relatively small percentage of elderly men stay in missions today, perhaps due to their perception of the missions as unsafe, compared to other shelters, and the fact that many missions have their bed facilities on upper building floors that, in most cases, are inaccessible to the non-ambulatory physically disabled.

TABLE III-35
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MISSION USERS, 1986

<u>MISSION</u>	<u>18-35</u>	<u>36-60</u>	<u>OVER 60</u>
American Soul Clinic	30%	50%	20%
Emmanuel Baptist Mission	55%	25%	20%
L. A. Mission	50%	40%	10%
Midnight Mission	20%	70%	10%
Harbor Light	15%	70%	15%
Union Rescue Mission	30%	70%	0%

Source: HR&A (1986)

As indicated in Table III-36, mission users are about evenly divided between whites and blacks, although blacks outnumber whites and Hispanics at the Midnight and Emmanuel Baptist Missions. Hispanic users account for less than a third of mission users. It is apparently rare for Asians to sleep in missions.

TABLE III-36
RACIAL/ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF MISSION USERS, 1986
 (percent of overnight guests)

<u>Mission</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	<u>Asians</u>	<u>Am. Indians</u>
Amer. Soul Clinic ^a	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Emmanuel Baptist	30%	60%	5%	0%	5%
L. A. Mission	33%	33%	33%	0%	0%
Midnight Mission	20%	50%	30%	0%	0%
Harbor Light	40%	40%	15%	1%	4%
Union Rescue	35%	35%	25%	0%	5%

^aSpecific data are not available, but an administrator reported that the mission generally serves a much higher percentage of blacks and Hispanics than Caucasians.

Source: HR&A (1986)

As shown in Table III-37, the vast majority of mission users are regular, not periodic or one-time users, according to mission representatives. There are time limits on consecutive nights imposed by the missions, which are described in detail below, so users circulate. Many have a regular pattern of moving from one mission to another within the residency limits, sometimes staying in the secular shelters and residential hotels, but as part of a regular circuit. As noted in previous volumes, managers say it is fairly common for men on General Relief who stay in residential hotels to move to the missions or secular shelters toward the end of the month as their monthly stipend is depleted.

TABLE III-37
SERVICE HISTORY OF MISSION SHELTER USERS, 1986
 (percent of overnight users)

<u>Mission</u>	<u>1-Time</u>	<u>Periodic</u>	<u>Regular</u>
American Soul Clinic	20%	20%	60%
Emmanuel Baptist	N/A	N/A	N/A
L. A. Mission	0%	10%	90%
Midnight Mission	10%	10%	80%
Harbor Light	5%	15%	80%
Union Rescue Mission	15%	25%	60%

Source: HR&A (1986)

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE MISSIONS

American Soul Clinic (Fred Jordan Mission)

This organization, founded in 1947, provides approximately 200 beds for men in its six-story building. There are 8-10 beds in each of 10 rooms on each floor. Users are accepted on a walk-in basis and may stay continuously for up to five days, with a five-day waiting period before they may be re-admitted. Additional social services are available to both men and women, including meals, referrals for health care and employment, and clothing. Attendance at nightly religious services is required. The clinic is seeking to expand to provide overnight shelter for women and families, but has no specific plans at this time. The organization is supported entirely through donations. Its financial data are confidential.

Emmanuel Baptist Rescue Mission

This organization, founded in 1953, provides 67 beds for sober, ambulatory men only, in 21 rooms (three beds per room) located on the second floor of its two-story building. Attendance at religious services is required. Two meals are served each day in a 135-seat dining area. Women may obtain meals and attend services, but may not stay overnight. Users are admitted on a first come, first served basis during the early evening hours of each day. Men may reside for up to seven consecutive nights and then must stay elsewhere for seven nights before returning. The mission no longer permits men to sleep in chairs at night. It has purchased the lot next door to the present building in order to expand its facilities. No specific time schedule or plans for this expansion are available. The organization is funded exclusively through private donations. Its financial data are confidential.

Los Angeles Mission

The Los Angeles Mission located in the Skid Row area in 1950. It provides 70 beds for sober, ambulatory men on the second floor of its building. Approximately 30 beds are reserved for longer-term residents, and 40 beds are for occasional users. Benches are also available indoors during periods of peak seasonal demand, which occurs in October-December. Three meals per day are served to both residents and non-residents, men and women, in a 156-seat dining room on the second floor. Other services include shower facilities, clothing, mail deposit, referral to social services, and bus transportation to the hospital if needed. Attendance at nightly religious services is required. Users may stay for seven consecutive nights, but must go elsewhere for at least 14 nights before being re-admitted. The mission has recently purchased property at the northeast corner of Wall and 5th Streets, and plans to construct a new building with 160 beds, beginning in February, 1987. The existing building must be reinforced to conform with the seismic safety ordinance, so its future use cannot be determined at this time. The organization is funded by contributions (financial and in-kind, particularly food). Its current annual operating budget is approximately \$678,000.

Midnight Mission

This organization began providing services in the area in 1914, although its present two-story facility was constructed in 1971. It differs significantly from the other missions in that attendance at religious services is not a prerequisite for obtaining services, although spiritual counseling is available. The facility provides 138 beds, a portion of which are reserved for more permanent residents who also work as staff members. Beds are available to men only on a first come, first served basis during specified registration hours. Users are permitted to

stay only one night every three days, a management policy designed to offer services to as many people in need as possible. Three meals a day are available to men and women, resident and non-resident, in a 136-seat dining area. Other services include showers, clothing, laundry, haircuts, mail deposit, referrals to other social service agencies, counseling and a casual labor employment office, which is a branch of the State Employment Development Department. The mission plans to add additional beds within its facility, but no specific plan is available. It is funded through private contributions. Its financial data are confidential.

Salvation Army - Harbor Light

The Los Angeles offices of this national service organization have existed in the Skid Row area since 1954. Originally located at the corner of 7th and Towne (where a Salvation Army Thrift Store is still located), the Salvation Army moved into the former Morris Hotel on East Fifth Street in the late 1960s. Its focus is to provide beds for a residential alcohol detoxification program. The 230 beds are available only to men who enroll in the 90-day detoxification program, although enrollees are not required to remain this long. No temporary or emergency facilities are available.

For those enrolled in the program, there is a complete system of additional supportive facilities and programs. Religious services make up one component of the program. The organization is considering creation of a residential detoxification program for women and a temporary shelter facility, but no specific plans are available. Harbor Light is funded through a combination of contributions and income from Thrift Store sales. The detoxification program also receives public funding for staff. Residents who qualify for General Relief pay for room and board from their monthly stipends. Others pay as they are able. Detailed financial data are confidential, but the current annual operating budget is approximately \$1.3 million for all programs.

Union Rescue Mission

This organization is both the oldest (founded in 1891 as the Pacific Gospel Union, but located on its current site since 1926) and largest of the mission facilities serving Skid Row. It contains 300 beds. Three types of shelter programs are available: walk-in temporary shelter for men only (approximately 100 beds); a longer term religiously-oriented residential program for older adult men (approximately 125 beds); and a similar program for men under 25 years old (about 25 beds). Walk-ins may remain for up to five consecutive nights, but then must reside elsewhere for at least two nights before being allowed to return. In the summer months, guests may stay up to six nights at a time. Union Rescue Mission also operates the 12-bed Bethel Haven facility for women and children on Alvarado Terrace.

The mission permits men, women and families to sleep overnight in its 475 chapel and 175 basement chairs, all of which are filled during the winter, and about two-thirds of which are filled during the summer. Three meals per day are available to men and women in a 180-seat dining facility. Attendance at religious services is required. A number of other services are available, including a medical clinic partially supported and staffed by UCLA, for which 25 beds are reserved, showers, clothing, haircuts, laundry, mail deposit and employment counseling. The mission is currently planning to relocate to a site on 6th Street near Maple, with assistance from CRA. The plans include 125 additional beds. Funding sources include program income from its Green Oak Ranch program for children, plus contributions. The annual operating budget is approximately \$1.5 million for all programs.

GAPS IN THE SHELTER SYSTEM: THE PROVIDERS' ASSESSMENT

When surveyed by HR&A, SRO owners and managers, secular shelter operators and mission administrators all expressed a variety of opinions and suggestions concerning what is needed to improve the Skid Row area shelter system. SRO owners' comments generally focused on issues affecting the cost of making necessary repairs, particularly the seismic safety ordinance requirements. Secular shelter operators most frequently mentioned improving the physical condition of the shelter stock, particularly the SROs, but several also mentioned a need for better integration between shelter and social services. Mission administrators were more likely to describe shelter needs in terms of special population subgroups, such as women, children and the mentally disabled. While these opinions and suggestions often reflected each group's special role in the Skid Row shelter system, they provide some insight into how those most familiar with that system diagnose its current condition.

SRO OWNERS' PERSPECTIVE

Seven owners offered comments about what actions they think CRA should take to improve housing in the Skid Row area. Two items were mentioned more frequently than others. First, it was asserted that the Rent Stabilization Ordinance should be modified to either permit, or permit more easily, an owner to pass through seismic rehabilitation and other extraordinary operating cost increases (e.g., insurance) to tenants. Second, a need was identified for a low-cost source of financing for seismic and other required code improvement work. Table III-38 presents randomly an ordered sampling of these and other owner comments.

THE SECULAR SHELTER OPERATORS' PERSPECTIVE

None of the existing secular shelter administrators indicated plans to add beds to current inventory in the near future, although internal program modifications may yield some capacity changes, such as at the Weingart Center. Tentative plans by Skid Row Development Corporation to convert its industrial space at 540 S. San Pedro into a shelter, possibly to replace the San Pedro Emergency Shelter, have been cancelled for the time being. As noted above, several other Skid Row area organizations which previously did not offer overnight shelter are actively considering developing such resources (St. Vincent Center - 125 beds; L.A. Men's Place - 18 beds), and one new shelter resource just opened (Downtown Women's Center - 48 beds). Altogether, these resources, if all are built, would slightly outnumber the existing beds available at the San Pedro Street Emergency Shelter, which may be closed following expiration on September 1, 1987 of the most recent zoning variance extension.

TABLE III-38
SRO OWNERS' ASSESSMENTS OF THE SKID ROW SHELTER SYSTEM

1. Get City Council to amend the rent control law to allow extraordinary rent increases where needed. For example, when insurance goes up to over 4% of gross in one jump, what good is a 4% [annual adjustment] increase to cover all rising expenses?
2. Adequate housing [was] recently constructed in [the] general area. Community Redevelopment Agency has no need to improve housing in the downtown area.
3. There should be dorm-like, reasonably [priced] facilities operated by the City to house single persons. Midnight Mission and other charity facilities for the homeless should be relocated away from [the] center of downtown to improve the desirability to people wanting to live downtown. There should be middle income, affordable housing to attract people to downtown.
4. Eliminate or curtail prostitution; people hanging around waiting for drug deals to [occur]; fights over drug deals; people trying to sleep on the sidewalk; people trying to mug other people for money, jewelry, etc.
5. Provide or encourage housing in the form of supervised "board and care" for the mentally ill.
6. Find funding for seismic and new fire code requirements work. [It's] bad enough to pay a loan off, but worse if there are no loans.
7. Provide loan guarantees to S&Ls for low interest rehabilitation and refinancing loans, especially for brick buildings. Otherwise an irreplaceable source of low cost housing will be lost, and many low income families may wind up on the streets. The current loan programs (CRA, etc.) have too many restrictions and unnecessary conditions to be attractive...loan guarantees would be the best way for the City, State, Feds to see that...financing is available and to encourage owners to rehabilitate rather than demolish.
8. Given the volume of brick rehab work in the City, and the fact that it is highly labor-intensive, [and] is [expensive] for owners, rent increases for tenants could be spared by using specially trained prisoners, or CYA youth, or other inner city youth who lack work experience, to perform the demolition and repair phases of the work. This could be a nice win-win situation for the owners, tenants, the City and the unemployed.
9. Get the City and County to realize they should cooperate with responsible landlords as they used to do. Almost all inspectors are becoming more adversarial.

When asked to rank their top three policy priorities for the Skid Row area, secular shelter operators stressed maintaining (or increasing) the supply of decent, affordable housing (both shelters and more permanent housing), better coordination of social services and better public-private sector cooperation most frequently. These responses and others are shown in Table III-39.

TABLE III-39
SECULAR SHELTER REPRESENTATIVES' TOP POLICY PRIORITIES^a

First Priority Mentions:

- Decent low-cost housing
- Better public-private sector cooperation
- More "mainstream" services
- Decent housing
- Attention to crime, especially drug traffic

Second Priority Mentions:

- Evaluation of area social service system
- More services for the mentally ill
- Better service planning (i.e., avoiding service duplication)
- More employment opportunities
- Change the 60-day General Relief penalty
- More services for alcoholism and drug abuse problems

Third Priority Mentions:

- Better public-private sector cooperation
- More overnight shelter beds
- Places for people who cannot cope with existing shelter rule systems

^aResponses have been randomly listed to preserve confidentiality of respondents' answers.

THE MISSION ADMINISTRATORS' PERSPECTIVE

As noted above, two missions (Union Rescue and Los Angeles) have plans to relocate within the Skid Row area. These relocations are very significant in terms of consolidating mission users' movements in the eastern downtown area. If constructed as now planned, these two missions will expand Skid Row area mission bed capacities by approximately 21%, or about 215 additional beds.

All missions are thinking about or planning to expand their services in Skid Row. The most frequently cited area of expansion was shelter services to women or women and children (three of six), followed by more shelter beds in general, and more shelter beds for temporary users. When asked to rank their top three policy priorities for the Skid Row area, the mission administrators listed facilities for women and children most frequently, followed by services for the mentally disabled, making public restrooms and drinking fountains available, putting social workers on the street, and attending to violent behavior of particular population subgroups. Their responses are summarized below in Table III-40.

TABLE III-40
MISSION REPRESENTATIVES' TOP POLICY PRIORITIES^a

First Priority Mentions:

- o More shelter facilities in general
- o More facilities for women
- o Control behavior of American Indians on the street
- o Eliminate the 60-day General Relief penalty rule
- o More facilities for women and children
- o Eliminate area liquor stores

Second Priority Mentions:

- o More English language education
- o Need to educate the public about Skid Row area problems
- o More public restrooms
- o Conduct aggressive "case-finding," particularly for homeless mentally ill
- o Provide more services for the mentally disabled
- o Reduce street gang violence

Third Priority Mentions:

- o More community health services
- o Teach clients to accept responsibility for their welfare (i.e., not to expect to get things for free)
- o More low cost housing for the mentally disabled
- o Social workers on the street
- o Public toilets and drinking fountains
- o Stop other communities from sending their homeless to Skid Row
- o Stop violence caused by the influx of Cubans

^aResponses have been randomly listed to preserve confidentiality of mission representatives' responses.

**THE IMPACT OF THE CITY'S SEISMIC SAFETY ORDINANCE
ON THE SKID ROW SHELTER STOCK**

The picture of the Skid Row shelter stock painted in the previous sections could be radically altered in the future by implementation of the City's seismic safety requirements. On February 13, 1981, the Los Angeles City Council adopted the Earthquake Hazard Reduction Ordinance (hereafter "seismic safety ordinance") which requires that all pre-1934 unreinforced masonry buildings be structurally rehabilitated to achieve a specified level of structural safety according to a specified schedule. An ordinance amendment in 1985, passed after the Mexico City earthquake, accelerated the original compliance schedule.

As of late 1980, when a citywide survey was prepared, approximately 8,000 buildings were determined to be affected by the ordinance, including about 28,000 apartment units and 17,000 hotel rooms.⁵¹ The largest concentration of these units is in the City's Central Business District. Owners of 53 buildings containing 3,425 units in Skid Row residential hotels and apartments,⁵² or about 51% of all such units, were to receive notices to comply with the ordinance by the end of 1986.⁵³ Table III-41 lists the affected SROs. Figure III-6 indicates their location within the Skid Row area. The Los Angeles Mission, the only non-SRO shelter resource in the Skid Row area which is subject to the seismic safety ordinance, currently plans to relocate to a new building at 5th and Wall Streets.

This section of Volume III of the Report analyzes the likely impact of the seismic ordinance on the Skid Row SRO stock. It reviews the history of the current ordinance, summarizes its key features and implementation process, and reviews possible approaches to compliance. These discussions are followed by a summary of current ordinance compliance in the Skid Row area. It then reviews efforts by City auspices, including those of CRA, to provide financial assistance to SRO owners for seismic safety repairs. The section concludes with an estimate of the volume of public resources that might be needed in the future to assist SRO owners if it were established as a public policy goal to provide such assistance for seismic ordinance compliance.

SUMMARY HISTORY OF THE LOS ANGELES SEISMIC SAFETY ORDINANCE

Official concern for seismic safety reaches back at least to the 1933 Long Beach earthquake, which demonstrated the dangers inherent in unreinforced masonry construction. School facilities were badly damaged, leading almost immediately to enactment of the Field Act, which set minimum structural safety standards for school facilities built after May 26, 1933. The City of Los Angeles enacted its first seismic safety ordinance in 1933 which regulated new, but not existing, construction.

The 1971 Sylmar earthquake provoked State and local government reaction much as the Long Beach disaster had done nearly four decades earlier.⁵⁴ The State immediately amended the Government Code to require all cities and counties to add a Seismic Safety Element to their General Plans.⁵⁵

⁵¹ City of Los Angeles staff estimate from December 10, 1980 memorandum from the Planning Department to City Council.

⁵² Unless otherwise specified, all references in this section to "Central City East housing stock" includes buildings within one block of the CRA-defined boundaries. As in previous sections of this Volume, they are collectively referred to as "SROs."

⁵³ These figures are based on HR&A's review of L.A. Building and Safety Department data. By comparison, Kutner (op. cit., pp. 105-107) counted 3,209 units in 54 hotels in 1985, but his list did not include the Bixby, Carlton, Doane, New Orleans, Dewey, Rosslyn, San Pedro Apts., Senator and 722 1/2 San Pedro buildings. As stated previously, discrepancies in building addresses may account for these omissions. Also, Kutner's list includes the Chandler and Modoc Hotels, which are outside this Report's definition of the Skid Row area. Further, since his study was prepared in 1985, the Blaine, Doane, Howell, Lux and Roberts Hotels have been, or are currently scheduled to be demolished, and the Lorane, Florence and La Jolla Hotels have achieved full seismic compliance.

⁵⁴ Building permit records indicate that 10 Skid Row area SROs sustained damage from this earthquake, requiring repairs ranging in cost from \$3,500 to \$10,000 per building, based on building permit estimates.

⁵⁵ On September 10, 1975 the Los Angeles City Council adopted its own Seismic Safety Element following guidelines prepared by the California Council on Intergovernmental Relations. Although the Element clearly addresses the special problem of pre-1934 unreinforced masonry buildings and the social consequences implied by rehabilitation and risk abatement, an ordinance implementing these Seismic Safety Element policies was not approved until 1981.

TABLE III-41
SKID ROW AREA SROs SUBJECT TO THE LOS ANGELES
SEISMIC SAFETY ORDINANCE, 1986

<u>Building Name and Address</u>	<u># Units</u>	<u>Building Name and Address</u>	<u># Units</u>	<u>Building Name and Address</u>	<u># Unit</u>
BUILDINGS WITHIN CRA's CENTRAL CITY EAST (CCE) PROJECT AREA					
		Lincoln Hotel 549-551 Ceres Ave.	80	BUILDINGS WITHIN CCE AREA, BUT CLOSED FOR REHABILITATION	
		Lyndon Hotel 413 E. 7th Street	62		
		New Hotel Stanford [Sierra] 523 Stanford Street	51		
Hotel Annex [Russ Hotel Annex] 518 S. San Julian Street	30	New Orleans Apts. 647 Towne Ave.	39	Ellis Hotel 802 E. 6th Street	59
Astor Hotel 618 E. 4th Street	19	New Terminal Apartments 907 E. 7th Street	40	Golden West Hotel 417 E. 5th Street	65
Baker Hotel 311 E. Winston Street	58	Norbo Hotel 526 E. 6th Street	57	Harold Hotel 323 E. 5th Street	60
Bixby Hotel 433 S. Wall Street	86	Palmer Hotel 538 S. Wall Street	74	Leo Hotel 531 S. San Julian Street	48
Blaine Hotel 216 1/2 E. 5th Street	51	Panama Hotel 403 E. 5th Street	230	Regal Hotel 815 E. 6th Street	<u>81</u>
Boyd Hotel 224 E. Boyd Street	54	Rivers Hotel 1242 E. 7th Street	76	Subtotal	313
Carlton Hotel 534 E. Wall Street	58	Ross Hotel 640 S. San Julian Street	27		(5 buildings)
Carver Hotel 460 E. 4th Street	50	Rossmore Hotel 905 E. 6th Street	60	BUILDINGS WITHIN ONE BLOCK OF CCE PROJECT AREA	
Chetwood Hotel 411 E. 4th Street	56	St. Agnes Hotel 560 Gladys Ave.	63	Barclay Hotel 103 W. 4th Street	158
Cloud Hotel 315 1/2 E. 7th Street	27	Simon Apartments 702 1/2 E. 6th Street	18	Dewey Hotel 725 S. Main Street	72
Continental Hotel 802 E. 7th Street	64	Southern Hotel 412 E. 5th Street	50	Huntington Hotel 752 S. Main Street	200
Crescent Hotel [McArthur] 617 E. 5th Street	52	Terminal Hotel 1331 E. 7th Street	60	L. A. Motel 6 [St. George Hotel] 115 E. 3rd Street	100
Delo Apartments 553 Stanford Street	16	Ward Hotel 512 S. Wall Street	75	Rosslyn Hotel 112 W. 5th Street	264
Doane Hotel 211 1/2 E. 5th Street	50	Webb Hotel 642 Crocker Street	45	San Pedro Apartments 760 S. San Pedro Street	24
Earl Roy 233 E. 5th Street	43	Weldon Hotel 507 Maple Ave.	57	Senator Hotel 726 S. Spring Street	90
Edward Hotel 713 E. 5th Street	37	Wings Over Jordan [Stanford Hotel]	<u>52</u>	722 1/2-748 1/2 S. San Pedro	<u>15</u>
El Sol Hotel 719 E. 5th Street	33	660 Stanford Street		Subtotal	923
Eugene Hotel 560 Stanford Street	58	Subtotal	2,189		(8 buildings)
Hart Hotel 508 E. 4th Street	44		(40 buildings)	Total^a	3,425
Haskell Hotel 528 S. Wall Street	37				(53 buildings)
Leonide Hotel 510 3/4 S. Main Street	50				

^aThis list does not include six buildings containing 313 units which were originally subject to the seismic ordinance, but which have now completed full compliance construction work.

FIGURE III-6
**LOCATIONS OF SKID ROW AREA SROs
SUBJECT TO THE SEISMIC ORDINANCE**



In Los Angeles, then-Councilman Tom Bradley introduced a successful motion on February 13, 1973 requesting the City's Department of Building and Safety to analyze the feasibility of adopting a seismic safety program for unreinforced masonry buildings, and to review a new seismic safety ordinance adopted by the City of Long Beach. A year later Councilman Arthur Snyder initiated action on an ordinance to require structural and other upgrading of movie theaters. The public debate which soon engulfed this proposal helped focus attention on the earthquake vulnerability of high density public assembly buildings in general, and then on lower density categories of buildings. As ordinance proposals (which included a suggested requirement to post hazard warnings on unreinforced buildings) surfaced and were discussed during the ensuing years, increasing numbers of property owners and tenants joined the debate, particularly during a series of public hearings held in 1976.

In January 1977, the City Council directed City staff to produce four studies to further explore the possible consequences of adopting an ordinance requiring seismic rehabilitation of pre-1934 unreinforced masonry buildings. These were: 1) a draft ordinance, to be prepared by a special study committee; 2) an Environmental Impact Report (EIR) on the draft ordinance; 3) a citywide survey to identify pre-1934 unreinforced masonry buildings; and 4) an investigation of possible Federal sources to assist owners to finance the costs of compliance with the ordinance. The draft ordinance and the City Planning Department's EIR became the vehicles for debating how to equitably balance the liability issues posed by the estimated existing stock of 8,000 unreinforced masonry buildings with the financial and social consequences of requiring rehabilitation or abatement. The issue was further roiled by complicated and sometimes conflicting structural engineering and earthquake prediction data.

The special study committee produced a draft ordinance which featured a 10-year, time-phased compliance plan, along with a compliance enforcement priority system based on degrees of potential risk to building occupants. Further studies on the probable construction costs of mitigating earthquake risks were undertaken during 1979 and 1980, along with explorations of financing options, tenant relocation options and certain legal questions. Further ordinance refinements were then made, including an optional two-step compliance approach (i.e., anchoring followed by full compliance), and a more generous timeline for achieving compliance. Nevertheless, in December 1980 the final EIR concluded that significant adverse impacts would result from adoption of the proposed ordinance, including likely demolition of scarce affordable housing and dislocation of low and moderate income tenants.

On January 7, 1981, following eight years of debate, the City Council adopted Ordinance 154,807, which added Division 68 (later re-chaptered as Division 88) to Article 1, Chapter IX of the Los Angeles Municipal Code. The ordinance subsequently survived a constitutionality test in Barenfeld v. City of Los Angeles 162 Cal App 3d. 1043 (1984), a consolidation of six separate lawsuits, all of which alleged inverse condemnation.

REQUIREMENTS OF THE SEISMIC SAFETY ORDINANCE

According to generally accepted theory, the extent of damage to a building from an earthquake depends on the characteristics of the earthquake, the characteristics of the ground around the epicenter of the earthquake and that under the building, and the structural

characteristics of the building itself. Older masonry buildings were designed primarily to support vertical gravitational forces, rather than the lateral forces created by earthquake ground motion. These buildings generally lack vertical and horizontal reinforcement between masonry courses. The cement mixtures used prior to 1940, which typically included large proportions of lime, often do not form a strong enough bond between the bricks to prevent earthquake forces from separating the masonry bearing walls along these weak mortar joints. This causes the walls to crumble and detach from the roof and floors, which then tend to "pancake" one on top of another, crushing whatever may be inside.⁵⁶

The Los Angeles seismic safety ordinance establishes a four-category risk classification system for all affected buildings based on building use and theoretical occupancy loads. This classification scheme determines the sequence in which owners are ordered to comply, and the minimum level of structural integrity that the building must meet in order to achieve compliance. Class I, or "Essential," buildings include public safety facilities such as hospitals, police stations and fire stations. These buildings are to be rehabilitated first. Class II, or "High Risk," buildings include public assembly buildings such as theaters, restaurants, large retail establishments and larger residential facilities with an occupancy load of 100 or more people. Class III, or "Medium Risk," buildings include other residential, commercial and industrial structures which have an occupant load of more than 20 people, but are not classified as Essential or High Risk. Class III is subdivided into three sub-groups of buildings with 20-50, 51-99 and 100 or more occupants, respectively. Class IV, or "Low Risk," buildings are those that do not fall into one of the other categories, and are generally small structures and warehouses with an occupant load of less than 20 people.

Of the 59 Skid Row SROs originally subject to the ordinance in 1981, 10 (18%) were originally rated Class II - High Risk, and 49 (82%) were rated Class III - Medium Risk. Building permit records indicate that wall anchors or new crosswalls were subsequently installed in five buildings in order to reclassify them from High Risk to Medium Risk, thereby taking advantage of the more lenient compliance schedule for the lower risk category.

The ordinance specifies that building owners be issued notices to comply with the seismic safety ordinance in descending order of risk classification, figured from the effective date of the ordinance, but not before minimum notice time periods elapse (see Table III-42 below).

TABLE III-42
SEISMIC ORDINANCE RATING CLASSIFICATION SCHEME

<u>Rating Classification</u>	<u>Occupant Load</u>	<u>Minimum Time for Service of Order</u>
I - Essential	Any	Immediately
II - High Risk	100+	90 Days
III - Medium Risk	100+	1 year
	51-99	2 years
	20-50	3 years
IV - Low Risk	under 20	4 years

⁵⁶Petak, William J. and Daniel J. Alesch, The Politics and Economics of Earthquake Hazard Mitigation. Boulder: University of Colorado (1986), pp. 15-17.

Once an order to comply has been issued, a building owner must take various actions within specified time periods. These actions include hiring a licensed architect, civil engineer or structural engineer to perform a structural analysis of the building, preparing plans for required corrective work for City approval, obtaining a building permit for required work, and completing the work. The structural analysis investigates the unique circumstances of each building and assesses its ability to withstand seismic forces, based on building design, building construction methods and particular construction materials used. The structural analysis includes performing either an in-place shear test (or "push test") of the unreinforced masonry bearing walls, or testing the compression strength of eight inch diameter cores removed from the unreinforced masonry bearing walls, under the supervision of a registered Deputy Building Inspector. If the test results fail to meet minimum ordinance standards, plans must be prepared for one of several optional methods of complying with the ordinance. The following constitute the most common methods of achieving compliance with the seismic safety ordinance.

Foundation Anchors

Foundation anchors ensure through one of several means that the building's foundation is structurally sound, and that the building is properly bolted or otherwise attached to the foundation. This may require adding anchoring mechanisms, repairing a portion of the foundation or replacing the foundation. Costs vary with the complexity of the required foundation work.

Appendage Anchors

Appendage anchors include the strengthening, fastening, or removal of all overhanging parapets, cornices and other similar ornamentation. Average costs are about \$250 per anchor.⁵⁷

Horizontal Diaphragm Reinforcement

Horizontal diaphragm reinforcement, or structural strengthening of upper floors and roof planes, ensure that they act as one continuous structural element to resist seismic forces. This may require reinforcing around diaphragm openings, such as stairs, skylights, and elevator or mechanical shafts. Costs vary here as well, but recent experience indicates that removal of an existing roof and installing new plywood and reinforcing costs about \$5.00 per square foot.⁵⁸

Stress Anchors

Stress anchors tie the building roof and floors to exterior walls in a way that reduces the possibility that the roof and floors will collapse onto building occupants. This involves a relatively uncomplicated construction process. Costs vary with the number of anchors required, the ease of accessing the anchor installation points and the type of interior and exterior finish applied to wall surfaces, once the anchors are installed. Wall anchor unit

⁵⁷ Unless otherwise noted, average cost estimates were provided by City Earthquake Safety Division staff; these costs are averages for all buildings and will vary from building to building for a variety of reasons discussed below.

⁵⁸ Recent analyses of Skid Row area SROs by a Pasadena structural engineering firm under contract to CRA indicates that installation of new or reinforcing of existing interior crosswalls, particularly at the lower floors of taller SROs, may be a less expensive approach.

prices are currently estimated to range from \$100-150 per anchor, or \$1.50-2.00 per square foot.

Shear Wall Reinforcement

Shear wall reinforcement employs one of several different approaches to structurally reinforce load bearing walls by transferring vertical gravity loads and lateral seismic loads to the building foundation. This may be done by constructing new intermediate walls with various materials, or by reinforcing existing walls with plywood, steel braces or frames, concrete or gunite (a light-weight concrete structural material either sprayed over reinforcing steel attached to the existing walls or pre-cast into structural panels), or some combination of these approaches. Each of these techniques involves a much more complicated construction process than most others mentioned herein. Recent costs have ranged from \$7.00-10.00 per square foot including other required anchoring and bracing work.⁵⁹

SEISMIC ORDINANCE ENFORCEMENT

Responsibility for enforcing the seismic safety ordinance rests with the Earthquake Safety Division of the City's Department of Building and Safety, which has an authorized staff of 60 engineers and inspectors. Each building believed to be constructed of pre-1934 unreinforced masonry has been assigned a sequence number for issuing orders to comply with the ordinance, based on the building's risk category. Prior to issuing a compliance order, a building is field checked to establish that it still exists and that it is in fact a pre-1934 unreinforced masonry building. The compliance order contains timetables for each of two alternatives: 1) full compliance with the ordinance, which must be completed within three years, or 2) installing roof and wall anchors first, followed by full compliance within four years. The original 1981 ordinance enabled owners to postpone achieving full compliance from one to seven years, depending upon the building risk classification, by first installing anchors. The 1985 ordinance amendment, following the Mexico City earthquake, modified this provision to allow only a one year time extension, regardless of risk classification. However, those buildings which had anchors installed prior to the amendment are permitted to use the prior schedule. Five Skid Row SROs either installed anchors or new crosswalls prior to 1985 and are therefore eligible for the longer time period.

Once an order to comply with the ordinance has been issued, a notice is recorded against the property title as a way of informing potential property buyers about the requirement.⁶⁰ The ordinance permits appeals to the Board of Building and Safety Commissioners at each stage from the initial determination that a building is within the scope of the ordinance, to requests for modifications of actions of the City staff during enforcement. The number, pattern and success rate of such appeals may govern the ultimate compliance schedule. However, an insufficient number of appeals has been filed to date to permit analysis of the effects of the appeal process.

⁵⁹ Alternative techniques which may result in lower construction costs and less disruptive construction procedures are subjects of continuing research. For example, CRA and Department of Building and Safety staff are studying a new analytic procedure for designated historic buildings. The "ABK" method involves a complex decision matrix designed to identify probabilities of life safety hazards associated with use of the least architecturally intrusive structural reinforcing techniques, and permits calculations which give value to existing construction systems previously discounted by the seismic ordinance. Preliminary application of this technique in CRA-assisted projects suggests that some construction cost savings may result from application of this analytic method. See Earthquake Hazard Mitigation: Cumulative Impacts on Historic Buildings, A Critical Issues Study, CRA/LA and the Los Angeles Conservancy, 1986.

⁶⁰ This probably means that an owner's ability to get or keep insurance, and to obtain bank financing for repairs is affected, but we have no specific data on the extent of these effects.

As of December 1986, approximately 5,500 orders had been issued throughout the City. The compliance results are displayed in Table III-43.

TABLE III-43
CITYWIDE COMPLIANCE WITH THE SEISMIC ORDINANCE^a

<u>Compliance Activity</u>	<u>Number</u>
Number of Plans for Wall Anchors Only	994
Number of Plans for Full Compliance	<u>2,019</u>
 Total Plans Submitted	 3,013
Number of Permits Issued for Anchors Only	899
Number of Permits for Full Compliance	<u>1,401</u>
 Total number of Permits Issued	 2,300
Number of Anchor Jobs Completed	766
Number of Full Compliance Jobs Completed	<u>556</u>
 Total Number of Compliance Jobs Completed	 1,322
Number of Buildings Demolished ^b	370
Number of Exemptions ^c	96

^aThe total number of buildings listed as pursuing compliance with the seismic ordinance in this Table exceeds the estimated number of notices to comply issued by the City because some owners, knowing they would eventually receive such notices, initiated compliance actions even before receiving their notices.

^bIncludes demolitions of buildings subject to the ordinance, whether or not compliance was the reason for demolition.

^cIncludes buildings originally listed in the 1980 citywide survey, but upon further investigation have been determined by City staff to be exempt from the seismic safety ordinance.

Source: L. A. Department of Building and Safety (December 1986)

The status of compliance with the seismic safety ordinance by owners of Skid Row SROs is shown in Table III-44. As of early December, 1986, orders had been issued to 90% of the area SROs subject to the ordinance. Five buildings had sought reclassification from High Risk to Medium Risk. Permits for wall anchors had been issued for six buildings, five of which had completed the work. Ten buildings had permits for full ordinance compliance, five of which had completed the work to date. CRA had provided loan funds to assist with four of the SROs which achieved full compliance (the Brownstone, Lorane, Florence and La Jolla Hotels), and funds had been reserved in FY86-87 to assist with nine others, primarily buildings acquired by SRO Housing Corporation. Two other SROs (the Amarillo and Leland Hotels) have also achieved full compliance.

TABLE III-44
STATUS OF COMPLIANCE WITH SEISMIC SAFETY ORDINANCE
BY SKID ROW AREA SROs, 1986

<u>Compliance Activity</u>	<u>No. Bldgs.</u>	<u>% of All Affected Bldgs.</u>	<u>No. Units</u>	<u>% of All Affected Units</u>
Buildings Subject to Compliance ^a	59	100%	3,738	100%
Compliance Orders Issued ^b	54	92%	3,290	88%
Wall Anchor Plans Filed ^c	6	10%	362	10%
Anchor Work Permits Issued	6	10%	362	10%
Anchor Work Completed	5	8%	305	8%
Full Compliance Plans Filed	18	31%	1,345	36%
Full Compliance Permits Issued	11	19%	566	15%
Full Compliance Work Completed	6	10%	313	8%
No Compliance Action to Date	35	59%	2,031	54%

^aFor purposes of this Table, 6 buildings are included which have already completed full seismic ordinance compliance.

^bIn advance of receiving formal notices by the City, the owners of the Edward and La Jolla Hotels had already been issued permits for full compliance work, and the work at the La Jolla is now complete.

^cThis category is for "Alternative II," or anchor work only, to be followed by full compliance at a later date. Buildings in the "full compliance" category typically include anchor work as part of the rehabilitation plan.

Source: Earthquake Safety Division, L.A. Department of Building & Safety (December 1986)

FACTORS AFFECTING SKID ROW SRO OWNERS' COMPLIANCE WITH THE SEISMIC ORDINANCE

How and whether owners of Skid Row area SROs affected by the City's seismic safety ordinance comply with the ordinance probably depends on three principal factors: the cost of construction work required to comply; the cost and availability of financing for the construction work; and the alternative investment options that may be available to an owner. Other issues which may also affect compliance include availability of professional engineers and contractors to perform the required analytic work and construction, and the rigor of the City's enforcement program.

THE COST OF THE SEISMIC ORDINANCE CONSTRUCTION WORK

The cost of meeting the seismic safety ordinance standards was one of the most hotly debated issues addressed in the course of adopting of the ordinance, and few sources of public or private funds to assist owners to finance the required improvements were ever identified. There is now some experience by which to gauge compliance costs, although most of the compliance work to date has been done on public assembly facilities, commercial structures and some industrial buildings. There is less experience with apartment buildings or SROs. To date, there have been four examples of full compliance by Skid Row SROs, as well as full compliance by several other very similar residential buildings in the South Park area of the Central Business District. Together, these projects provide some basis for estimating the likely costs to Skid Row SRO owners of achieving compliance with the ordinance.

The construction cost of complying with the seismic ordinance varies from building to building, according to such characteristics as shape, height, existence of ground floor retail or dwelling units, and the specific engineering method chosen for ordinance compliance. Buildings which are rectangular in shape, only two to three stories tall and have ground floor dwelling units with multiple internal walls (which includes about 18% of the Skid Row area SROs subject to the ordinance), are generally less expensive to seismically reinforce than buildings which are "L" or "E" shaped, more than three stories high, and contain ground floor commercial space that generally lacks so many internal walls. The range of seismic rehabilitation costs is shown in Table III-45 based on experience with CRA-assisted SRO projects in Skid Row and South Park, for which construction bids have been accepted. The average compliance cost for these buildings, \$3,800 per dwelling unit, is equal to about 52% of market value, based on current average SRO prices of \$7,300 per unit. Using CRA's experience with Ballington Plaza as a model of construction replacement costs at about \$27,410 per unit, the seismic rehabilitation work would average out to about 13.8% of replacement cost.⁶¹

Both CRA and City Department of Building and Safety staff stated to HR&A that during the next few years the cost per unit and per square foot (before adjustment for inflation) of SRO seismic rehabilitation may decline somewhat as engineers and contractors gain more experience, and there is further innovation in structural analysis methods.⁶² However, there may be some short term cost increases due to high demand for the existing supply of engineers and contractors familiar with ordinance compliance procedures.

FINANCING SEISMIC REHABILITATION

As noted previously, Skid Row area SROs are a distinct real estate submarket due to their physical characteristics and because they are so frequently constructed of unreinforced masonry. Many have numerous deeds of trust or other debt encumbrances to which loans for seismic work would be added if the work could not be financed from building cash flow or secured by other owner equity.

⁶¹The Ballington Plaza project represents only a very general proxy for "replacement cost" since it includes light housekeeping units, individual bathrooms, a congregate dining facility, and full compliance with all current health and safety codes.

⁶²In early 1986 CRA began submitting Skid Row SRO seismic rehabilitation loan projects to John Kariotis and Associates for review. Using the "ABK" method, the Kariotis firm has recommended alternatives to preliminary full compliance designs prepared by other engineers on behalf of building owners. The Kariotis firm believes that its method may substantially reduce seismic compliance construction costs. This hypothesis has not yet been tested by enough actual construction cost bids to be verified, although the results obtained for the Huntington Hotel, as noted in Table III-45, seem promising.

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TABLE III-45
SUMMARY OF CRA-ASSISTED SRO SEISMIC REHABILITATION COSTS

<u>SRO</u>	No. <u>Units</u>	<u>Seismic Cost^a</u>	<u>Cost/Unit</u>	<u>Cost/Sq.ft</u>
Brownstone	54	\$250,000	\$4,630	\$11.32
Florence Hotel ^b	58	208,000	3,586	10.40
Lorane Hotel	62	390,000	6,290	14.35
La Jolla Hotel	53	154,500	2,915	11.71
Huntington Hotel	200	676,000	3,380	7.60 ^c
Harold Hotel	58	182,000	3,138	9.56
Havana Hotel	42	159,575	3,799	8.87
Olive Hotel	50	206,887	4,138	10.34
Iris Hotel	35	118,000	3,371	6.93
Ensenada Hotel	52	139,200	2,677	7.00
Average			\$3,815	\$ 9.74

^aBased on accepted contractor's bid price for labor and materials, but not including contingencies, overhead and profit. Actual construction costs may have differed in some cases, but it is not possible from available information to attribute any such variations in costs to seismic versus other construction work.

^bA number of problems encountered during the course of general rehabilitation of this building resulted in cancellation of the construction contract. CRA staff believe that the estimated construction cost, including seismic rehabilitation costs, were seriously underestimated by the contractor. Therefore, the seismic cost figure for the Florence Hotel has not been included in HR & A's calculation of average seismic cost per dwelling unit.

^cThis hotel's seismic rehabilitation cost is based on application of the new "ABK" methodology.

Source: CRA Rehabilitation Department (1986)

Based on the prototypical operating statements presented previously for a 50-unit and a 200-unit SRO building, it appears that, for those buildings like the prototypes, there may be sufficient cash flow available to support some additional debt. Assuming the average of \$3,800 per unit for seismic work from Table III-45, the cost of full seismic compliance work for the prototypical 50-unit building would average about \$190,000. This is more than could be financed from the unencumbered cash flow of \$1,200 per month identified in the prototypical analysis. This cash flow would support only about 60% of the required cost of the seismic repair work, assuming a conventional 15-year loan at 10% interest. This means that an owner would have to supply about \$77,000 from some other source, if such a loan were available in the market, and the owner qualified for such a loan.

For the 200-unit prototype building, the cost assumption suggests that seismic work would cost about \$760,000. If all of the remaining monthly cash flow for this prototype (about \$4,760 per month) were applied to a similar loan, about the same proportion (58%) of the seismic compliance cost could be supported, leaving about \$317,000 to be raised from other owner funds, even if such a conventional loan was available and the owner could have qualified for it.

Alternatively, the entire cost of initial anchoring work (about \$2.00 per square foot, or \$40,000 for the 50-unit prototype and \$200,000 for the 200-unit prototype) could be supported by a conventional short term loan for those buildings which fit the prototypes' financial

profiles, if such loans were available and an owner could qualify. The following factors affect the cost and owners' abilities to finance the seismic work.

Whether or Not the Work Can Be Done While Tenants Remain in the Building

Experience to date with seismic rehabilitation indicates that the construction work can be performed faster, at lower cost, and with reduced liability if tenants are not present in the building, or at least if they are absent from those portions of the building which are under renovation. If the tenants cannot remain, or if the work is so disruptive that they will not remain, monthly cash flow from rental income can be seriously affected.

In most CRA-assisted seismic rehabilitation projects to date, the work has been accomplished by vacating one floor at a time, either by moving tenants within the building, or keeping units vacant after a tenant vacates. In a few cases where even this procedure has rendered an owner unable to meet existing debt payments, cash flow subsidies have been built into the loan package.

Whether Rents Can Be Increased to Support Additional Debt

This is both a public policy and a market issue. If rents are increased to finance seismic rehabilitation, there may be displacement or affordability problems for existing tenants. It is possible that some rents in the area could be increased by some amount to support additional debt without pricing some tenants out of their current buildings. However, as shown in a previous section of this Volume, the median rents already being charged Skid Row residents are very high relative to the L.A. County General Relief benefits which finance much of their shelter.

Clearly, the ability of existing renters to pay any additional rent increases is also a relevant policy consideration, as well as whether there is any potential to attract higher paying tenants to replace existing tenants who may be displaced if rents are increased to finance the seismic work. As was noted previously, some Skid Row area tenants may already be paying 50% or more of their incomes in rent. For this reason, CRA-assisted seismic rehabilitation loans have been structured in all cases to control post-rehabilitation rent increases for at least 30 years. This has required very creative financing arrangements, including deferred loans, residual receipts loans and other techniques, as well as some caps on owner return on investment. Many of these approaches can only function if an agency such as CRA is present to bear some of the resulting financial burden.

Requirements of the City's Rent Stabilization Ordinance

Approximately 1,499 units in 45 Skid Row area SROs are currently registered with the City's Rent Stabilization Division.⁶³ The Rent Stabilization Ordinance establishes limitations on just cause evictions which may complicate an owner's ability to perform seismic rehabilitation work if, for either safety or cost reasons, an owner wants to move tenants out of the building. Evictions are limited to circumstances where rehabilitation expenses average at least \$10,000 per unit and where the units will be uninhabitable for at least 25 days.⁶⁴ Relocation assistance for displaced tenants ranging from \$1,000 to \$2,500 is ordinarily

⁶³ Registration data from the City's Rent Stabilization Division as of April, 1986. The number of units ranges up to 100% for each building, with a median of 33% registered units per building. 69% of all registered units are in buildings subject to the seismic safety ordinance.

⁶⁴ Section 151.09 A9 of the Los Angeles Municipal Code.

required in such cases, but not for relocation incident to compliance with the seismic safety ordinance. The ordinance also permits the cost of rehabilitation work to be passed through to the tenants in the form of a permanent rent increase. Work associated with the seismic safety ordinance is considered "cited work," as opposed to elective capital improvement, and therefore the cost of financing, in addition to construction costs may be passed through to tenants, subject to certain regulations which typically amortize these costs over a five-year period. As noted above, however, this pass-through may prove impractical given the prevailing rental market in the Skid Row area.⁶⁵

Skid Row SRO owners with units subject to rent stabilization now have at least five options for addressing that program's requirements: 1) modify rental practices to eliminate dwelling unit eligibility for rent stabilization (HR&A's Manager Survey found several cases where rooms were no longer being rented by the month for exactly this reason); 2) perform the seismic rehabilitation work while leaving tenants in place; 3) stop renting units as vacancies occur in registered units; 4) wait for a City order to vacate the building for failure to comply with the ordinance, and evict all tenants at that point; and 5) evict tenants from registered units for building demolition or for permanent removal of the building from the registered stock, as provided for in the rent stabilization ordinance.

In a recent report to the City Council Government Operations Committee, City staff recommended that to address these problems the City should: 1) maintain existing requirements and timetables for anchoring work, but (a) delete the requirement for full compliance, or (b) add at least three years to the timetable for full compliance; 2) enact a \$50 per month ceiling on capital improvement/cited work rent pass-throughs for anchoring work; 3) extend relocation assistance requirements to tenants evicted due to seismic work; 4) permit landlords to use vacant units in the building or other property to house dislocated tenants in lieu of paying any adopted relocation benefits; and 5) establish a trust fund to assist owners and/or tenants in meeting the cost of temporary relocation and seismic rehabilitation work, funded by adding a temporary surcharge to City building permit fees.⁶⁶ In early January 1987, the City Council adopted an ordinance providing a six month moratorium on tenant evictions resulting from seismic work after November 19, 1986. The ordinance also included relocation benefits for tenants who are later evicted because of seismic work. This new relocation cost increases the per-unit cost of complying with the seismic safety ordinance for those buildings with units subject to the Rent Stabilization Ordinance.

Availability of Private Financing for Seismic Rehabilitation Costs

Due to the peculiar nature of the SRO real estate sub-market, conventional sources of financing have generally not been used for purchase, let alone for rehabilitation, whether or not buildings are constructed of unreinforced masonry. Further, since these buildings tend to be highly leveraged (some have third and fourth trust deeds), most buildings do not meet conventional underwriting criteria for owner equity or lender collateral. Also, since most of the pre-1934 unreinforced masonry buildings are below code standard in other ways (e.g., fire, plumbing and electrical), they frequently fail tests of lender prudence. Based on a mail-back survey in 1983, CRA staff concluded that only ten percent of all buildings on the citywide list of seismically deficient buildings would qualify for a loan according to normal

⁶⁵ The City's Rent Stabilization Division (RSD) estimates that a 20-unit apartment building where seismic work costs \$5,000 per unit could, after application and approval, raise rents by \$111 per month. But, the Division believes that rents in most such buildings are already at the highest levels that housing demand in the area will support. If true, this renders the seismic rehabilitation cost uneconomical and may lead to building demolition. For those buildings where rent increases are possible, such increases have ranged from \$120-280 per month, with an average of more than \$200 per month. Memorandum from Douglas S. Ford, Community Development Department General Manager, to L.A. City Council Government Operations Committee, dated November 13, 1986, p. 3.

⁶⁶ Ford Memorandum, op. cit., pp. 7-10.

underwriting criteria. This figure is probably even lower in the Skid Row area. Private lenders have generally been uninterested in making loans for seismic rehabilitation in Skid Row -- even in association with CRA funds, and when buildings will be improved to meet all current code requirements, and even when, in addition, the building is essentially debt-free and relies on a healthy percentage of tourist clientele (as opposed to traditional Skid Row clientele) for cash flow.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, eight of the 17 SROs that are apparently actively pursuing plans for full compliance, and five of six of those pursuing anchoring, are doing so without public financial assistance.⁶⁸

Availability of Public Financing for Seismic Rehabilitation Costs

No substantial source of State or Federal funds has been created to assist with financing seismic ordinance compliance. Public lenders, like their private counterparts, are concerned about participating in any project which fails to meet all applicable health and safety code requirements, and they usually must observe additional requirements, such as compliance with Davis-Bacon Act wages and with physical design objectives, which may add to the cost of seismic work. To date, the Housing Division of the City's Community Development Department (CDD) has assisted in financing the seismic rehabilitation of 29 residential buildings, containing 1,242 dwelling units.⁶⁹ Changes in Federal funding priorities, together with the current cloud over the municipal bond market associated with Federal tax law changes, have left most of these sources either unavailable in the future or severely depleted. What little funds are still available must be spread over seismically deficient housing throughout the City.

The CRA has assisted,⁷⁰ or is in the process of assisting, 35 buildings, containing 2,179 units, to finance seismic rehabilitation costs. This total represents less than 20% of the estimated number of seismic deficient buildings located in all of CRA's project areas. It does include seven completed projects, four of which are the Skid Row SROs previously noted. Ten more are under construction citywide. The CRA has appropriated funds for seismic work on an additional 12 buildings citywide, 9 of which are Skid Row SROs (the Harold, Leo, Golden West, Annex, Panama, Ellis, Regal, Stanford, and Huntington Hotels). Assistance for 14 additional buildings, including four Skid Row SROs is pending. As shown in Table III-46 this means that at most, 18 of the Skid Row area SRO buildings affected have some likelihood of receiving seismic rehabilitation loans with firmly identified funds at this time.

⁶⁷ In 1984, CRA attempted to issue a seismic rehabilitation bond for a pool of owners. The issue did not sell. Recently, however, CRA has been able to find a bank willing to finance a take-out loan for a large tourist-oriented SRO building. This suggests that permanent financing, rather than construction financing, may be a more acceptable route for private lenders.

⁶⁸ HR&A was unable to determine either from owners or their engineers whether owners actually planned to proceed with construction work, or to what extent these initial actions were intended to produce cost estimates, or simply to indicate good faith compliance with the ordinance for the moment. Information about how owners planned to finance this work was also unavailable.

⁶⁹ To finance this assistance the Department has used funds from the Community Development Block Grant Program, the HUD Section 312 Low Interest Loan Program, HUD Section 8 Rental Housing Rehabilitation Program, GNMA's, and tax exempt bonds.

⁷⁰ Memorandum from CRA Acting Administrator to CRA Commissioners, May 19, 1986; letter from Acting Administrator to Mayor Bradley, May 20, 1986. Funds for this work have been distributed from CRA's Residential Seismic Safety Rehabilitation Loan Program, using Bunker Hill tax increment funds appropriated by the City Council and targeted for use within a three-mile radius (the "Seismic Circle") of Bunker Hill, where an estimated 70% of all low and moderate income residential units in the City subject to the ordinance are located. CRA financial assistance can take the form of a loan or grant, but usually involves all of the following conditions:

1. Guarantee to maintain affordable rents, secured by a deed restriction through 2015.
2. Property owner agreement to abide by a management agreement approved by CRA, including the right to review project income and expense data.
3. Completion of all health, safety, and building code violations in addition to seismic repairs.
4. Compliance with prevailing Davis-Bacon construction wage requirements for all projects costing \$250,000 or more.

TABLE III-46
CRA ASSISTANCE WITH SEISMIC REHABILITATION
OF SKID ROW AREA SROs

	<u>No. Bldgs.</u>	<u>No. Units</u>	<u>\$ Amount</u>
Completed	4	220	\$ 2,584,000
Appropriated	10	1,113	9,554,905
Pending	<u>4</u>	<u>215</u>	<u>2,700,000</u>
Total	18	1,548	\$14,838,905

Source: CRA (1986)

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Using CRA's \$10,000 per unit cost estimate for full seismic rehabilitation and other code compliance work, it would cost about \$19.4 million (in 1986 dollars) to rehabilitate the remaining Skid Row area SRO units, or about \$33.6 million to both acquire and rehabilitate those buildings, as has been done with recent SRO Housing Corporation projects. Alternatively, if full seismic ordinance compliance rehabilitations were financed privately, without other code compliance work, at the average cost of \$3,800 per unit, the total required construction cost funding would be about \$7.4 million.

On a citywide basis, approximately 20% of the remaining units requiring seismic rehabilitation could support the debt repayment through an interest write-down from 14% to 4% according to CRA estimates. It is further estimated that owners of just over one-third (35%) of the remaining units would be willing to abide by CRA loan program requirements and receive an interest-free grant or deferred loan for building rehabilitation, leaving 45% of the total ineligible for CRA assistance.⁷¹ Applying this logic to the Skid Row area means that about 1,069 units in approximately 20 additional buildings might be eligible for CRA assistance, if funds were available, as shown in Table III-47.

If the average CRA cost figure of \$10,000 per unit is assumed, it would require approximately \$8.5 million to fund rehabilitation of these 1,069 additional units⁷², not including acquisition costs.

⁷¹ Memorandum from Bill Jones, Director of Rehabilitation, to John Maguire, Deputy Administrator, Housing and Public Affairs, January 6, 1986.

⁷² 389 units @ \$4,446/unit with interest subsidy	\$1,729,494
680 units @ \$10,000/unit with loan deferral	<u>\$6,800,000</u>
	\$8,529,494

These figures do not include any applicable tenant relocation costs under the terms of the recent City Council moratorium on seismic ordinance enforcement in buildings subject to the Rent Stabilization Ordinance.

TABLE III-47
**ESTIMATED NUMBER OF SKID ROW AREA SEISMICALLY DEFICIENT SRO UNITS
 ELIGIBLE FOR ASSISTANCE BY CRA, ASSUMING FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE**

	<u>Units</u>	<u>Bldgs.</u>
Total Subject to Seismic Rehabilitation	3,738	59
Number Assisted by CRA to Date	1,333	14
Number Proceeding with Compliance without Apparent Public Assistance ^a	461	8
Remaining To Be Rehabilitated	1,944	37
20% Capable of Supporting Debt	389	7 (approx)
35% Willing to Accept CRA Grant/ Deferred loan	680	13 (approx)
Subtotal Eligible for CRA Assistance	1,069	20 (approx)
45% Not Likely to be Assisted by CRA	875	17 (approx)

^aIncludes those for which owners have filed full compliance plans, those for which owners have taken out full compliance permits and those on which full compliance work has been completed.

In FY86-87 CRA budgeted \$2.5 million for seismic rehabilitation citywide during the next fiscal year, including \$1.0 million for the Skid Row area.⁷³ This latter amount was tentatively targeted for three SROs containing 160 units. Thus, for about 1,784 units, in about 34 buildings there is no known source of public financial assistance this year when Skid Row area SRO owners are faced with the decision of how to comply with the seismic safety ordinance. This is over one quarter (26.3%) of the Skid Row area's stock of SRO dwelling units, and about 43% of the number of existing SRO buildings. As previously noted, existing cash flow circumstances and problems that these buildings pose for conventional loan underwriting means that, so long as existing economic conditions prevail, private financing will also probably be unavailable for seismic rehabilitation. Therefore, some owners may choose to close or demolish⁷⁴ their SROs unless either a source of loan funds emerges, or there is some change in the seismic ordinance compliance schedule or the manner in which the schedule is enforced.

⁷³ Subsequent to preparation of this Report, the CRA Board of Commissioners approved funding and implementation of a \$5.5 million Seismic Safety Loan Program for SROs located in the Central Business District Redevelopment Project, although no specific portion of these funds are set aside specifically for Skid Row. The Program includes three possible financing plans: (i) up to \$10,000 per unit for full code compliance, including seismic rehabilitation; (ii) up to \$5,000 per unit of Federal rental rehabilitation funds, depending on eligibility of the building and availability of funds to be used for full code compliance; and (iii) up to \$3,000 per unit for seismic "anchors," fire code compliance, and other serious or flagrant code violations, to be followed by full code compliance by a specific future date. The Board's funding and implementation plan must still be approved by the City Council.

⁷⁴ In fact, subsequent to preparation of this Report, owners of the seismically deficient Blaine Hotel and Doane Hotel have been issued demolition permits. Also, subsequent to preparation of this Report, the City Council enacted a six-month moratorium on SRO demolitions.

